

A R. 5. 29.
DEFENCE
OF THE
ANTIQUITY
OF THE
Royal-Line
OF
SCOTLAND.

WITH
A true Account when the
Scots were Govern'd by Kings
in the *Isle of Britain.*

By **SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE** His
Majesty's Advocate in *Scotland.*

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TO THE
KING.

SIR,

THE Divine Providence,
having suffered these King-
doms to destroy one another for many
Ages, in divided Monarchies, re-
serv'd their happy Union for the
mercifull Royal Stem, of which
Your Majesty is now the Head:
and mingl'd lawfully in their
Veins, all those many, and diffe-
rent Blouds-Royal, which preten-
ded to any Sovereignty in these
Your Dominions: designing there-
by at once to reward the Vertue of

A 2

Your

Your Majest'ys Predecessours, and
 that Union to us,
 preventing future Debates. In
 King James Your Royal Grand-
 father, those Nations got a Mo-
 narch, who was acknowledg'd to
 be the Solomon of His Age: who
 excell'd all His Contemporary Prin-
 ces in * King-Craft; all his Mi-
 nisters in Prudence; and all His
 Doctours in Learning. None of
 His Subjects understood the Law
 better, or observ'd it more: and
 who knew as well, all that was done
 at Counsel-Tables abroad; as they
 who sat at them. To Him succee-
 ded Your Majesty's Royal Fa-
 ther, whose life was the best Law
 a King could make: who knew no
 use of Power, save to do good by
 it: who was less carefull of His
 own Bloud, than of that of His
 Subjects: and I may justly say,
 that Heaven onely was govern'd
 by

* His own
 word.

by a better King. After we had shown our selves unworthy of such Monarchs, the Divine Goodness, to try us once more, gave us Your Gracious Brother, whose Clemency (after so many and so great injuries) was as great a Miracle as His Restoration: who knew every thing save to be severe: and could bear every thing, save to see His people in trouble: who, after the abuse of His Goodness, had made His Enemies so insolent, that His Servants concluded all was lost, did by His extraordinary parts, with a gentle easiness, peculiar to Himself, dissipate those execrable Combinations, to our great satisfaction, and amazement: But, Sir, the Conscience of His Enemies, will far exceed, in His praises, the Eloquence of His Servants; and so my trembling hand leaves this Melancholy Subject.

*His Throne is now fill'd with
Your Sacred Majesty, whose Abi-
lities Your Royal Brother esteem'd
so much, that He shar'd with you
the exercise of the Government be-
fore His Death, gave you the Pos-
session of the Crown. In You, Sir,
Your People have a General to
their Armies, an Admiral to their
Fleet, a Thesaurer to their Mo-
ney : whose Courage can lead them
as far as theirs can follow ; and
raise the glory of these Kingdoms
as high as they can wish : So that
if they be not happy, they will have
this addition to their misfortunes,
that the World will see, that they
themselves are onely to be blam'd
for it.*

*Our Countrey, Sir, cannot boast
of a rich Soyl, or a warm Sun : but
it may, that it has given these hap-
py Islands, those Gracious, and Glo-
rious*

rious Kings. In return whereof, we might have expected kinder Rewards, than that any of their Natives should debate its Antiquity, and the Veracity of those Histories wherein the great Actions of Your Royal Predecessours were recorded. And since the Honour of the Ancient and Royal Race of our Sovereigns is the chief thing, wherein we glory; it is hard to deny us a favour, so just on our part, and so easie on theirs. However, Sir, since I presume, that those of Your other Subjects, who controvert this, do so, rather from want of Information, than from unkindness: I, who am resolv'd to make the defence of Your meanest Priviledges my greatest Honour; have thought it incumbent to me, as Your Advocate, to undertake the defence of that Antiquity, which makes Your Majesty, the

*most Ancient Monarch upon Earth :
Which Argument, I hope, I have
manag'd with that Candour, which
becomes an honest Man, and that
Zeal, which is the duty of,*

SIR,

Your MAJESTIES

most Dutifull, Loyal, and

Obedient Subject and

Servant,

GEO. MACKENZIE.

A
LETTER
TO THE
EARL of PERTH,
Lord High Chancellour
OF
Scotland,

*Upon his having sent to the
Authour the Bishop of St.
Asaph's Book: with some
Reflexions upon the Design
of that Book.*

My Lord,

I Have read the *Book* you sent me
with that delight, I did of old a
Play; which one may think it re-
sembles

seems more, than our *Histories*
 do a *Romance*: For what is truly
 related, is so disguised and transposed,
 as may best suit with the *Authour's*
 Design, and with a *Rhetorick* so
Polite and *Comical*, that if the *reasons*
 do not convince, yet the *humour*
 and *style* may charm, and please
 even some of those against whom it is
 design'd. This made me unwilling
 at first, to undertake to answer a
Book, which I suppose might have
 more *Admirers*, than *Profelytes*; But
 finding, upon a second perusal,
 that the *Authour* had not fully exa-
 mined the grounds upon which our
 Historians proceeded, or had suffe-
 red himself to be byass'd by Zeal for
 his Order or Partiality to his Coun-
 trey. And that this whole *King-*
dom take it as an injury done, not
 onely to the *Antiquity* of the *Royal*
Family, but to this *our Nation* in
 general; I was at last prevail'd with
 to enter the Lists, with a kind de-
 sign, by a sober and candid Infor-
 mation, rather to convince and
 satisfy the *Authour*, and those he
 may have misled, than to acquire
 the

the vain glory of such a Victory ; especially over one , who bears the Character of a *Bishop* , for which I have so great a Veneration : Although , for the reasons following I cannot but dislike his unnecessary undertaking , and partial management of a National Debate , which
 * we are discharged to enter upon , * 1a. 6. par. 20. c. 9.
 under pain of Sedition.

1. I am sorry : that while these *Kingdoms* are unhappily divided , not in *Nations* , but *Opinions* ; the old Animosities amongst *Scots* , *English* , and *Irish* being forgot and buried , and the modern differences between the *Episcopal* and *Fanatick* , *Cavalier* and *Republican* , or as some term it , *Whig* and *Tory* are so violent and turbulent ; the Authour should have diverted our just and dutifull Zeal , by imploying it in defence of an important Right of *State* , unkindly , as well as unnecessarily invaded : so as the other , of near concern to the *Church* , may in some measure come to be neglected.

2. The pretext for writing this *Book* , wherein the Antiquity of our
Kings

Kings and *Nation* is so much disparag'd , being that the *Presbyterians*, and particularly *Blondel* urg'd from our *Historians*, that we had a *Church* for some years without *Bishops* : it seem'd neither just nor fit, that any *Episcopal Authour* should have magnify'd so highly the meanest Argument, that ever was us'd by a *Presbyterian* ; as for it, to cut off 44 *Kings* (all preceding *Coranus*, who began his Reign anno 501) and to expose on a *Pillory* as *Forgers*, our many and grave *Historians*. And that it is a weak argument, appears from this, that I have met with very few *Laicks* in all our Countrey, who had heard of it ; nor with one, even of these few, who had valu'd it : and so this *Authour* may be said, rather to have suggested a new argument, than to have answered an old one : For they urge now nothing to us, save places of *Scripture* ; resolving to have their *Presbytery*, *Juris Divini* : knowing that nothing less can secure them, in opposing the *Laws* of the *Kingdom*. And what can the *Presbyterians* think of their other

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ther arguments, which they value much? Since this, which they valu'd so little, is thought of such force by a learned *Bishop*, as to deserve a whole Book, the cutting off of 44 *Kings*, and the offending a *Nation of Friends*. It is also very remarkable, that the learned *Doctor Hammond*, a great *Champion of Episcopacy*, owns the *Antiquity* of our *Nation*; and answers fully that argument, without overturning the truth of our *History*, or wronging the *Antiquity* of our *Royal-line*: whereas *Baxter* the *Presbyterian* urges this citation, and yet agrees with this *Authour* in opposing the *Antiquity* of our *History*; approving what is said by *Cambden* and *Usher*; and in a Letter to the Duke of *Lauderdale* asserting the lateness of our settlement here. Which shews, that there is no necessity lying upon such as own *Episcopacy*, to wrong the *Antiquity* of our *Kings*, and *Nation*. But how the necessity of a private Corner of a remote Countrey in *Ecclesiâ constituendâ*, could wrong the general practice of the *Church*; is

as little to be understood, as it is undeniable, that many *thousands* in *Japan*, and *China* were converted by *Presbyters*, before *Bishops* were sent there. And since it cannot be deny'd, but that these who ordain'd our *Presbyters* were *Bishops*; it necessarily follows, that *Episcopacy* was settl'd in the *Christian Church* before we had *Presbyters* or *Culdees*: or else if these who ordain'd our *Presbyters* were not *Bishops*; the practice of that *Church*, whereby our *Presbyters* were ordain'd, should have been impugn'd, and not the *Authority* of our *Histories*, and the *Antiquity* of our *Royal-Line* overturn'd. And though this *Authour* could prove, that we were not settled here, before the year 503, yet that could not answer the argument: for the *Culdees* might have been settled before that time in this Countrey, where we now live, though amongst the *Picts*, for it cannot be deny'd, but the *Picts* were settled in this Countrey, before that time. And when our *Historians* say that the *Abbats* of *Icolm-kill* had Jurisdiction over
all

all the *Bishops* of the *Province*, that is to be understood, as *Beda* observes, *more inusitato* ; and *St. Asaph* himself well remarks these words, and gives a full and clear vindication of the passages of *Beda* in the 173, and following *Pages* ; and might have rested therein, and needeed not to have been driven to seek a new answer in overturning the Antiquity of our Nation. Many examples can be given of Jurisdiction of *Presbyters* , and even of *Deacons* over *Bishops* in the *Canon Law* and *History*. So that this instance from our *Historians* makes nothing against *Episcopacy*. And later *Historians* meeting with these ambiguous words in our *Annals* , *designatus* , *electus* , *ordinatus* , were by a mistake induc'd to appropriate these words, to the formal Ceremony of *Ordination* and *Imposition of Hands*. And I find by the *Bishop's Concession* , * that the *Abbess Hilda* did elect and send forth such of her *Monks* , as she thought fit to be ordain'd : which is all that our *Culdees* , and ancient *Monks* did.

Thus

* Pag. 169, 170;
 & 171.

Thus a King may be said to make one a Bishop, or a Mother to have made one of her Sons a Church-man; which answer, the Learned *Nicol*, a zealous friend to *Episcopacy*, thought sufficient to elide *Blondel's* arguments from our Historians, without denying the Antiquity of our Nation, or troubling himself with our * *Culdees*. And if *Beda* had heard that the *Presbyters* did ordain Bishops, he had remark'd it as a most unusual thing, having marked that the *Abbats* had jurisdiction over Bishops, they being but *Presbyters*; such an Ordination being much more extraordinary, than such a Jurisdiction. And might not St. *Asaph* as well have inveigh'd against *Gildas* and the *British Historians*, because he says † that Church-men were ordain'd by the consent of the Bishops and the rest of the *Presbyters* from which *Presbyterians*, and particularly the same *Blondel* * infers a parity betwixt Bishops and *Presbyters*. And from which it appears, that dangerous consequences should not be drawn from the dubious, and heedless

* See his late Book, entituled *Les pretendus reformees conveniours du Schisme*. p. 547, 548, 549, 550.

† Pag. 89.

‡ Pag. 72, & 73.

heedless expressions of old Authours living in rude Times and Places, and from all which we might have been secure, that St. *Asaph* would have concur'd with the wise answer, which *Spotswood* Arch Bishop of St. *Andrews* (with whom the learn'd *Hammond* agrees) gave to that silly argument, without affronting him as a betrayer of the *Episcopal* Cause; and caressing our *Fanaticks* by that unwarrantable and dangerous assertion; *that in consequence thereof they might reasonably conclude, that when they covenanted against Episcopacy, they had onely us'd their own right; and thrown out that, which was a confess'd innovation; in order to the restoring of that which was their primitive Government.* For it does not follow, that because our Church in its infancy and necessity was without Bishops for some years; that therefore it was reasonable for Subjects, to enter in a *Solemn League and Covenant*, without, and against the consent of their *Monarch*; and to extirpate *Episcopacy* settled

then by *Law*, and by an old prescription of 1200 years at least.

3. Precedency being one of the Jewels of the Crown, and one of the chief Glories of Princes; and all who treat that Subject confessing, that the King of *Great-Britain* as King of *Scotland*, is the most ancient Monarch in *Europe*, the Line of other Kingdoms having been often interrupted: whereas ours never was. It seems a great injury to our Kings, to have their Line shortned, so as thereby to postpone them, to many others; and if this Author's arguments prove any thing, they must prove that our Kings cannot instruct their Antiquity, till *Malcolm* the 3^{ds} time: and so our Kings will be almost the last of all *Crown'd-Heads*. Nor is it one of the least arguments, which prevail with us, to hazard all for our *Royal-Line*, that we have been so long Subjects to it, and happy under it: and therefore whoever shortens it, lessens (though without design) the influence of our Kings,
and

and endangers the Succession. And since * *Luddus* owns, that he durst • Pag. 8. not deny the *British Descent* from *Brutus*, lest he might thereby wrong the *Majesty* of the *English Nation*; I admire, that any of the Subjects of *Great-Britain* did not think it a degree of *Lese-Majesty* to injure and shorten the *Royal-Line* of their Kings.

4. If this injury had been done to Kings, or to a Nation, when they were Enemies to *Episcopacy*, as the obligation was, so the fault had been less. But to inveigh against our *Royal-Line*, after *King James* had made the settlement of *Episcopacy* his business; *King Charles* had died for it; and our late Sovereign of Glorious Memory, had been more disquieted by the Schismatical opposition made to it, than by all his other concerns, seems very unkind. And though this *Authour*, upon design to make us sit down quietly under these Injuries, seems to gratifie us, by the Complement, "that we, since the Writing of our
" Histories, needed not such helps,

“ as old and fabulous Romances:
 “ telling us, that we have excell’d
 “ most other Nations, in Arts, and
 “ Arms; and especially in the Purity
 “ of Religion, abating onely the ble-
 “ mish, which we have contracted
 “ by too easie a belief of these Ficti-
 “ ons, which he designs to Refute.
 Yet, since no Peer in *England*,
 though a Subject, would have allow’d
 this Authour to tell him, that al-
 beit, he be now a brave and ge-
 neros person; his Predecessours
 were lately pilfering barbarous
 Robbers and Vagabonds, and the
 History of his Family a fabulous Ro-
 mance. How should he have ima-
 gin’d, that our Kings and Nati-
 on (how gentle soever) would have
 thought, that the Justice done them
 in this age (and for which we
 thank the Bishop of *St. Asaph*)
 should have compens’d the In-
 juries done to their Predeces-
 sours?

But it is probable, that *St. Asaph*
 has not, on the one hand,
 known the Grounds, which we
 here urge for our antiquity, and
 that

that our nice Jealousie for our Honour, on the other hand, magnifies too much to us such injuries, of which we are naturally very sensible: and therefore, I hope by his Lordships acquiescence, the result of the Debate will be, that he will see, that our *Royal-Line* and *Nation* are more ancient, than he imagined them to have been: and that we will remain Convinc'd, that his Book was not Dictated by malice, and National Humour.

My Design is not to convince my Readers, that I am Learn'd, but that my Cause is just: and therefore I use no more Citations, even from the Books I know, than may prove or illustrate my Positions. And, not being the first aggressor, I expect the favour, which is due to Self-defence: For of all things, I hate unnecessary Debates; and I admire St. Paul for saying,

* *And they neither found me in the Temple disputing with any man.* Debates generally starve Charity, feed Self-love, and incline even very good

* Acts chap. 28.
verse. 12.

(xiv)

good men to more partiality, than,
I hope, can be charg'd in this De-
bate, upon

Your Lordships most
faithfull and humble

Servant,

Geo. Mackenzie.

Adver-

ADVERTISEMENT.

Since the Writing of these Sheets, I have seen a very old Manuscript brought from Icolm-kill, written by Carbre Lifachair, who liv'd six Generations before St. Patrick, and so about our Saviour's time; wherein is given a full account of the Irish Kings: By which I conclude, that since the Irish had Manuscripts then, certainly we must all be allowed to have had them, having greater occasion of Learning Sciences, and Writing Histories; because of our Commerce with the Romans and polite Britons. In this Book also there are many Additions by the Druids of these times: from which I likewise may confirm, that the Priests in our old Monasteries learn'd our Ancient History from the Druids who preceded them.

I have seen also an old Genealogy of the Kings of the Albanian Scots, agreeing with that mention'd in our History at the Coronation of King Alexander

lexander 2, and which has still been preserv'd as Sacred there.

I have seen also another old Manuscript, wherein the Dalreudini Albanach are consider'd as settled here six Generations before Eirc, whom Usher calls the Father of our Kings. I find also in it, that Angus Tuirteampher Reign'd in Ireland five Generations before our Fergus I. and that in his time, the Irish and Albanians divided and separated from one another, which agrees with our Histories, which say, that the Scots were in this Countrey long before King Fergus and his Race settled here. And these our Irish Manuscripts agree in every thing with the above cited History of Corbre, and are in effect Additions to his Book by our old Sanachies.

A
D E F E N C E
Of the
A N T I Q U I T Y
O F
The Royal - Line
O F
S C O T L A N D,

With a true Account, when
the *Scots* were Govern'd by *Kings*
in the Isle of *Britain*.

In Answer to the Bishop of St. Asaph.

A LL the Historians of *Scot-*
land unanimously agreeing,
that the Royal-line of the
Kings of Scotland did begin in *King*
B *Fergus*

Fergus the First : and that the *Scots* now Inhabiting it, were settled here, under one *Sovereign*, about 330 years before *Christ* : And their Histories being receiv'd with great applause for many hundreds of years, by all *Historians*, *Antiquaries* and *Critiques* of other Nations, who had any occasion to take notice of our affairs. *Luddus* affecting singularity, did, in *Anno* 1572, controvert both these points: for which, he having been Refuted with just severity by *Buchanan*; The *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*, upon pretext of answering a very silly and inconsequential Argument against *Episcopacy*, has undertaken the Defence of *Luddus* his Kinsman, contending, that the *Scots* did not settle in *Britain*, till the year of our Lord 503; and that they had no *King*, who Govern'd in this Island, till that time.

Albeit there be other unwarrantable assertions and positions in that Book, yet being unwilling to enter upon any Argument, which may, by the remotest Consequence, be urg'd against that *Episcopacy*, which I so
much

much Reverence, I, as His *Majesty's Advocate*, design onely to prove, that in both these Points, the *Bishop* has (though I hope without design) injur'd our *Kings* and *Nation*. For proving whereof,

The first thing, I shall clear, shall be, that History requires, nor admits, no Mathematical, nor Legal Proof, but is satisf'd with such Moral certainty, as is infer'd from probable Tradition, old Manuscripts, credible Historians, the Testimony of foreign Authours, and probable Reasons.

2 That our Histories being already acquiesced in, and received by the generality of Mankind, and especially by *Critiques*, *Antiquaries* and *Historians*, the best Judges in such cases, need no Confirmation, nor farther Proof.

3 That albeit we are not obliged to Prove, or Confirm our History, yet we are able to doe it by all the former Grounds, which is all that can be done for the credit of any History.

4 I shall answer the Arguments
B 2 brought

brought by the *Bishop* against our Histories. And I must intreat my Readers to lay all these together, and not to judge by parcels, which is not to be done, especially in cases of this nature.

SECT. I.
What proofs are
necessary in Hi-
story.

For clearing the first of these Points, it is fit to consider that right Reason requires onely in all cases, such Proofs, as the Nature of the Subject can allow: and therefore, though *Mathematicians* rest onely upon infallible Demonstrations; and the *Law* requires strict and solemn Proofs; Yet the *Law* it self remits its ordinary Exactness, to comply with the necessity of Humane Affairs, allowing domestick Witnesses, where others cannot be had, and strong presumptive Grounds as equal to Witnesses, where the Subject Matter can admit no other Proofs: *Morality* convinces by probable Reasons, and *History* allows Moral certainty for a sufficient Probation in matters of Fact, because the matters Treated of, in it, can generally admit no exacter Proofs: Which Proposition, as to History, will very easily appear, if we consider, that
even

even the Historians of this present age, cannot themselves see every thing they relate; nor can all be prov'd by the Testimony of Witnesses. Reason likewise has oblig'd men to presume, that a Nation ought as much to be believ'd in these Cases, as two Witnesses are in any single one; for even in the case of Witnesses, our belief is founded upon the presumption, that they will not lie, and damn themselves; and that both the one, and the other, do at last resolve in presumptive and probable Grounds: So that men satisfy themselves in most things, with the general belief, and Tradition of those among whom they live, founded upon probable Reasons. Manuscripts also written by others, infer no Mathematical, nor legal certainty: For the Authour of the Manuscript might have been mistaken, or byas'd; and at best, one Witness proves not: Nor are Strangers oblig'd to believe the exactest *History* of those who write in favour of the Antiquity of their own Nation, upon any other account,

than because *History* is satisf'd with probable Grounds. Domestick Testimonies infer onely a probable belief; and though an Oath were interpos'd, that could create no more than a moral certainty.

As the former proposition is founded upon just Reason, so all *Historians* have been believ'd, and the *Histories* of all Nations have been receiv'd upon probable Grounds and Warrands, though they were not written by those who saw and heard what they wrote. Amongst many Instances of which, I shall onely name that of the *Romans*, written by * *Livius*; In which Commonwealth, he tells us that *the use of Letters was not then ordinary*, and that *the best Records were the faithfull Remembrance of things past*; and if some few Memorials were left by the Priests in succeeding Ages, they perisht at the burning of the Town. And no *History* was Collected till the year 485, after the building of Rome, *Fabius Pictor*, their first *Historian*, writing in that year, as † *Vossius* informs us. The *Jewish History* also had no Historical warrant for the first

* *Rare per eadem tempora literæ suse, una custodia fidelis memoriæ rerum gestarum; & quod etiam si quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleræque periret.* Liv. Init. lib. 6.

† *Vossius de hist. Lat. lib. 1. cap. 44. & lib. 2.*

first 2000 years, but Tradition, and after that time, their Transactions were mention'd in very few foreign *Histories*: And the Annals of their own *Priests* were thought good Historical Foundations; in the opinion of * *Josephus* even for the Sacred History. I need not mention the Histories of the *Greeks*, who could have no Records for many hundreds of years before they wrote; and much less those of the *French*, and *Spaniards*, whose Histories might much more justly be questioned upon the Grounds that ours are.

* Lib. 1. against Apion.

The surest Foundation then of all Histories, is the common belief and consent of the Natives: For Strangers cannot know but from them, and this consent and belief may be founded upon credible Tradition, Manuscripts, Domestick Witnesses, but especially when these are fortified by the concurring Testimonies of foreign Authours, probable Reasons, and the acquiescence of Mankind. And though less is accepted for fortifying an ancient, than a Modern History, and that even a part of these would be sufficient to confirm a Modern

dern one : Yet I hope to make them all concur for supporting ours, though very ancient.

It would appear then by this, that as the *Bishop of St. Asaph* has undertaken to defame our History without any necessity, so he does it without any shadow of Reason : and we will at least have the satisfaction, to see our Histories subsist as long as any Histories can do.

I conceive also, that in Reason, Historians already receiv'd in the World with applause, need not shew their Warrants, whereupon they proceed ; No more, than a man that is in possession needs prove or confirm his Right, except the same be prov'd to be false, or a clearer, or stronger Right be produced by him, who challenges the former : Nor are men curious to preserve old Manuscripts and Records, after they have form'd their Histories by them : for else no Historian could ever be secure, if the not being able to shew their Warrants after many ages, might discredit their History. And I desire to know, where are
those

those few Historians, whom *Heraclotus*, *Livius*, and others do cite in their Histories? Or those whom *Josephus* did cite to confirm that of the Jews, when it was challeng'd by *Apion* the *Grammarian*, upon the same Grounds that ours is now quarrel'd by the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*: And albeit the Authority of a single Historian, might be jealous'd after his History is written, and that then his warrands might be call'd for; especially if other Manuscripts could be found, written in the time controverted, by which that History might be contradicted: Or if the History controverted did Narrat things, inconsistent with the whole Tract of other Historians, or the Principles of common Sense and Reason, as *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, and some *British* Historians do, in the opinion of the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*, and their own best *Critiques*. Yet, this cannot at all be extended to our case, who have very many Histories written by men of great Reputation, all agreeing very well with one another, and Relating things probable in themselves, and very agreeable

agreeable to foreign Histories, and which they declare, they did draw from Warrands cited by them, and which have, for many years, been read with great pleasure, and cited with great honour by *Critiques*, *Antiquaries* and *Historians*, and contradicted by the authority of no positive History or Manuscript, written by any in the ages controverted, asserting, that the *Scotish* Nation now inhabiting this Isle, did first plant themselves here, about such a year of God, under such a King, or ad-
 ducing some such solid Ground against us; all that is objected against our positive and applauded Histories, being the vain and silly scruples of an obscure Authour *Lud-*
dus, who being confuted by *Bu-*
chanan, made no more noise in the World, till * *Cambden* rais'd some Conjectures, with submission to us,

* *Britann. cap.*
Scoti passim, but
 especially Page

232. These are
 the points, I say,
 which I would

with the *Scotish-men* diligently to think upon, but let them remember, that in the mean time, I have affirm'd nothing, but onely given an inkling of certain thing, which may seem in some sort material, whence if the original of the *Scots* have received no Light, let them seek it elsewhere, and I have in vain searched, but with that circumspect care, that I hope I have not given the least offence to any whatsoever.

after

after which † B. *Usher* picqu'd by *Dempster's* severity, to his Uncle *Stanhurst*, gathered together, an undigested, and formless lump of all writers, good and bad, from which, he says, that discretion being us'd, a History might be form'd. And from these the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*, impatient of *Buchanan's* severity to *Ludus*, under the pretext of respect to *Episcopacy*, has drawn a new Model, without bringing new materials, and has Translated even the fabulous Non sense of these ignorant Authours, into polite *English*, putting that confus'd Rabble in Rank and File, with some pleasant Reflexions.

I might then forbear to trouble my self any farther, than in answering these few, and ill founded Objections, muster'd up by the Bishop against us, which being remov'd, leave our History in its former lustre, and splendour. But for serving my King and Countrey, and satisiying my Reader more entirely, I am resolv'd to clear, that our Historians have proceeded upon sufficient Warrants, according to the former uncontroversible Propositions, which I

* Praefat. de primord. Eccl. Brit. In nostra autem ex omni scriptorum genere promiscue congesta farragine, siquis obscuriorum Authorum citata mirabitur testimonis; Cognare illum velim, aliud esse Historiam scribere, aliud materiam hinc inde convellere, unde delectus adhibito, &c.

SECT. 2.

What proof we can adduce for our History, and first of our Tradition.

at

at first laid down, in Relation to History in general. And this I will endeavour to doe, 1. By shewing that our Tradition is very well founded. 2. By shewing, that we had ancient Annals, and that our Historians were men of great Reputation, and that they founded their Histories on these ancient Annals. 3. That the best Historians among the *Britains*, do concur to assert our Antiquity, and that such as oppose it, are men of so little authority, as that their Testimony should not be put in the Balance with those who stand for us. 4. That our Histories are Confirm'd by the authority of ancient foreign Authours. 5. That our Histories have been believ'd and applauded by the best of late *Historians*, *Critiques* and *Antiquaries*, the best Judges in such cases. 6. That the antiquity of our History is founded upon solid Reason, and great probability, as well as upon the Testimony of Authours, both within and without the Isle : which is all that can be done, or is requisite, for asserting, and proving the Truth of any History.

For

For clearing whereof, I must inform my Reader, that whilst this Isle was Pagan, it had for its Priests, the *Druids*, who Taught them Sciences, and Letters, and who were so famous, that * *Cæsar* tells us, That the *Gauls deriv'd their first Learning from them*. And all Histories acknowledge, that these us'd to transmit the Histories of their own times, in verses, which were Taught by them to their Scholars: and it is probable, that some of these *Druids* having been Converted from the *Pagan Religion*, whereof they were the Priests, became our first *Monks*; being thereto much inclin'd by the severity of their former Discipline: as the *Therapeutæ* did for the same Reason become the first *Anachorits* in *Ægypt*; and so it was easie for them to inform the Monasteries of what they knew so well. And this Hint is confirm'd by a very clear passage in *Leslie's* Preface to his History, who being a *Bishop* himself, should be believ'd by another of the same Character in a probable matter of Fact. Nor can there be a clearer Confirmation of our having had the

* *Disciplina in Britannia Reperitur, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur: Cæsar. Bell. Gall. Lib. 6. multa de eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum naturalium vi & potestate, disputant & juvenuti tradunt.*
Ibid.

Cum in publicis rationibus & privatis, Grecis literis utantur. Ibid.
By public & private, are probably meant their Histories, at least it is most reasonable to think, that since they had the use of Letters, they would have written Histories, or some short memorials.

the *Druids* amongst us, than that in several places of the *Irish* Version of the *New Testament*, the *Wise-Men*, or *Priests*, are Translated *Druids* : and so where the *English* Translation saith, That the *Wise-men from the East came to Worship our Saviour*; Our *Irish* Translation has the *Druids*, &c. Our Predecessours also being descended from the *Spanish Gallicks*, or *Galicians*, as is acknowledg'd by all Historians ; and they having had the use of Letters, and of Grammar, long before this time, as * *Strabo* confesses, it cannot be imagined, but that we as a Colony of them, would have likewise a part of their Art and Learning. Our Predecessours also had their *Sanachies* and *Bards*, the first whereof were the Historians, and the latter, the Poets of their Traditions, as *Luddus* himself acknowledges, and by either of these means, the memory of our *Kings* and their Actions, might have been preserv'd untill the fifth Century; at which time we got Monasteries ; in which (as I shall hereafter prove) were written and preserv'd the *Annals* of our Nation. And since nothing,

Page. 96. Edit.
Calaubon.

thing, but at least great improbabilities, and fundamental inconsistencies, should be allow'd to Refute a History already receiv'd : I shall offer these Considerations, for clearing, that this way of preserving the memory of our Kings, is as probable a mean as any can be in History.

1. It is probable, that our Nation, as all the rest of mankind, who are warlike, and in constant action, would be desirous to preserve the memory of these actions, for which they had hazarded their lives, and by which they design'd to preserve that Fame, which they prefer'd to life it self : And that the Kings likewise, whose Authority and Right was much reverenc'd for its Antiquity, would be as carefull to preserve those marks of their ancient Dominion.

2. We do not in this serious Debate, pretend to such ancient Originations, and Descents, as might, through vanity, tempt men to lie, as those doe, who endeavour to derive themselves from the *Trojans*. All that we pretend to in this Debate,

bate, being onely, that we were a Colony, who probably came first from *Greece* to *Spain*, but settled certainly in *Ireland* for some time : and that we came from them, after the time, in which *Cambden*, and *Usher* acknowledge that the Nation of the *Scots* (whose Name we onely now bear) were long settled there. Would not our Accusers have us trust the *British* Antiquities for 2500 years? And the *Irish* for a longer time than our own, without any Written History, or Manuscript now extant before *Gilda's* time? And though *Lycurgus* would not suffer his Laws to be Written, yet they were preserv'd in the memories of men, for more than 600 years, as *Plutarch* observes ; and we and other Nations have preserv'd Laws for much longer time, without the help of Letters. And the onely points here controverted, being the first settlement of our Nation, and that we continue Subjects to the same Race of Kings; These are matters so remarkable, that all Nations know when such changes happened to one another.

As for instance, though there were no History yet extant, we should easily have known that the *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans* Conquer'd the *Britons*, and alter'd the Race of their Kings. That *Ireland* had many little Monarchs, till they were swallow'd up by *Henry* the 2. of *England*. And that *Edward Bruce*, Brother to our Glorious King, *Robert* 1. was chosen King of *Ireland*, with universal consent there, and might have continu'd in that Government, if from too great a love to Fame, and to gain a victory without his Brother, he had not lost it, and himself. And though all these controverted points fell out in a time, after the use of Letters was known to all Nations, and particularly to the *Druids* and *Romans*, the one whereof were our Priests, and the other our Neighbours very long, yet there remains not the least vestige of a doubt, that our Sceptre was ever sway'd by any other Race.

3. Though we had wanted the use of Letters, as most probably we did not ; yet the Tradition controverted, is at most of about 800
C years.

years. For, after that time, it shall be prov'd, that we had Records and Annals : And the things said of our Kings, during that time, are so few, and so remarkable, that men might have Taught the same to their Children in a Weeks time : And men liv'd so long at that time, that ten, or twelve men might have Transmitted the Tradition to one another. As also, since private Families do preserve to this day their Tradition, for as long time as this ; It was much more easie for a Nation, and their Kings to preserve theirs. Nor can I tell why *St. Asaph*, in his Preface, can controvert our Tradition, though we could not produce Writers who liv'd in these times, wherein these actions are said to be done : since * he thinks *it reasonable to judge, that there was the same Government here in Britain, though for want of ancient Writings, there could be produc'd no plain Instances of it.* And if this be allowed to *Episcopacy* in these times, why should he not have allowed the same favour to his Monarchs Predecessors,

fors, in the same and more ancient ages?

4. It was much easier for us to preserve our Traditions, than for the *English*, we being all descended from the same Race, and being still the same People, living under the uninterrupted succession of the same *Royal-line*; Whereas they were oblig'd to suppress the Traditions and Memorials of the people whom they had conquered.

5. As no man is presum'd to lie, or cheat, without some great Temptation, so the most glorious things that are said of us, are true beyond debate. As our having defended the Ground in which we settled, against all opposition to this very day: Our having put the first stop to the *Roman* Greatness: Our having beat the far more numerous *Britons*, though defended by strong Walls, and stronger *Romans*: All which cannot be deny'd to have been done by us, and are equally noble; whether we were settled here, or not, when we did them. After those controverted Times, it cannot be deny'd, that we carried our Con-

quests farther into *Britain*, than formerly : That we fought long with success against the *Saxons* and *Picts*, and did at last extirpate the latter : And when we were alone, we continu'd, and extended our former Conquests against the *Danes*, and *Normans* ; which proves also, that in the Wars which we had against the *Romans*, in conjunction with the *Picts*, the Victories we then got, are chiefly to be ascrib'd to us. And to Crown all, We have generously contributed all that was in our power, to support that Ancient and Royal Family (so unparallel'd for its Antiquity) by which we were animated, and instructed to doe all those great actions ; till they are now become the Monarchs of the whole Isle ; having by a happier way extinguished these Wars, and Animosities, and may he be unhappy who Revives them.

For clearing how this Tradition might have been, and was preserv'd, our History tells us of a probable way, among many others : which was, that at the Coronation of our Kings,

Kings, one appear'd, and Recited his whole Genealogy. I shall trouble my Reader onely with a proof of this Custome, which is such as Confirms also the Genealogy of King *Alexander 3.* in the year 1249. prior to *Fordon's* time, or to the view of any such Debate, and is Narrated by *Fordon* and *Major* in the Life of that King : and being so memorable a Fact, and so near *Fordon's* own time, his Relation cannot but be Credited. His words are, *That the King being plac'd in the Marble-Chair, the Crown upon His Head, and the Sceptre in His Hand, and the Nobility being set below Him, a Venerable old High-landed Gentleman* *stept out, and bowing the Knee, express'd Himself to the King in the High-land Language, thus, God bless You King Alexander, Son of Alexander, Son of William, &c.* And so carried up the Genealogy to *Fergus* the First: which Custome was most solemnly us'd at the Coronation of King *Charles* the Martyr, at which time their Pictures were expos'd, and noblest Actions recited.

As also, the reciting of their Genealogy was usual at the Burial of our Kings, a written proof of which Tradition, is to be seen in a Manuscript of *Baldredus Abbas Rynalis*; (for the Abbacy of *Melros*, was so called before King *David*'s time, who designs them so in the foundations of the Lands of *Melros*, which he mortifies to them) and is onely related *verbatim* by *Fordon*, consisting of eighteen Chapters, mentioning the memorable actions of King *David*, upon whom the Lamentation is made; who died 1151. and running up the Genealogy of the said *St. David*, to *Fergus* the First, Dedicated to *Henry* Prince of *England*, Grand Nephew to *St. David*, who came to the Crown of *England*, anno 1154. under the name of *Henry* the Second; in both which, at least *Fordon* is to be believ'd, having sufficient Vouchers: This also being ordinary in our High-land Families to this very day, not onely at Burials, but Baptisms and Marriages: and in which Families, men continue still to be design'd from their Fathers, Grand-fathers, and very many Genera-

nerations upwards : and is a sufficient Historical proof of Tradition, though we had no other Warrant for these few ages.

Before I come to clear, that we had Manuscripts and Records, it is fit to consider that it is very probable, that as the History of all Nations was preserv'd by their Priests and Church-men : so ours would be very ready to oblige the Kings, under whom, and the people among whom they liv'd, by writing their Annals. And therefore we may reasonably conclude, that since we were very early Christians, we had therefore ancient Histories written by our Church-men, beside these ; which we may pretend to have been transmitted to them by the *Druids*. And the *Bishop* himself acknowledges that the Monastery of *Hy*, call'd by us *Icolm-kill*, (that is *Hy*, the Cell of *Columba*) was founded about the year 560. and it is undeniable, that all our old Kings were buried, and our Records were kept there, since its Foundation, until the Reign of *Malcolm Canmore* :

SECT. 3.
Proofs from
Manuscripts and
Records.

and it is also certain, that our Annals were written in our Monasteries, such as *Scoon, Paslay, Pluscardin*, and *Lindesfern* * Govern'd by three *Scotish Bishops*, *Aidan, Finan*, and *Colman*; and *Abercorn*, mention'd by † *Beda*: and *Melrofs*, the Chronicle whereof begins where *Beda* ends, as their History now Printed shews: Though certainly that *English Manuscript* is very unfaithfull, for most of the things relating to our Nation, are omitted, as particularly, about the beginning in the year 844. Our Manuscript observes (which the *English* has not) *That Alpin King of the Scots died, to whom succeeded his Son Kenneth, who beat the Picts, and was declared first King of all Scotland, to the Water of Tine*, and after it expresses in his Epitaph,

*Primus in Albania fertur Regnasse
Kenedhus.*

Filius Alpini, praelia multa gerens.

And it observes that he was call'd the first King of Albany, not because he was the first who made the *Scotish Laws*, but because he was the first
King

* *Beda passim.*

† *Lib. 4. cap. 26.*

King of all Scotland. And each of our Monasteries had two Books, the one call'd their *Register*, or *Chartulary*, containing the Records relating to their private securities: and another call'd their *Black-book*, containing an account of the memorable Things, which occur'd in every year. And as it is strongly presumable, that our Historians would have compil'd our Histories from those: So, this being a matter of Fact, is probable by Witnesses: and I thus prove it in such a way and manner as is sufficient to maintain any History. *Verimundus a Spaniard, Arch-deacon of St. Andrews in anno 1076.* (as is remarked by * *Chambers of Ormond*) Declares in the Epistle to his Book of the Historians of Scotland, Dedicated to King *Malcolm*, call'd *Can more*; That, *albeit there are many things in the said Histories, which may seem to the Readers to be a little difficult to be believed, because they are not totally Confirmed by foreign Historians: Yet after they have heard how the Scots were settled in the North-part of the Isle of Albion, separated by the Sea, from the*

*firm Land , and so seldom troubled by strangers, to whom they give no occasions to Write their Actions : And also that they have not been less happy in having almost always among them the Druids Religious People, and diligent Chroniclers, before the Reception of the Christian Faith : and continually since Monks, faithfull Historians in the Isles of Man and Icolmkill ; where they kept securely their Monuments and Antiquities, without giving a sight or Copy of them to strangers : They will cease to wonder. This Chambers was a Learn'd man, and a Lord of Session, who wrote anno 1572 , and in his * Preface , says , That he had these principal Authours, Verimund a Spaniard , Turgot Bishop of St. Andrews, John Swinton, and John Campbel , &c. and many great Histories of the Abbacies of Scoon, called the Black book, and of other like Chronicles of Abbacies, as that of Inch-colum , and Icolmkill , the most part whereof he took pains to consider as much as was possible for him. He * cites Verimund , for an account of the Scots and Picts , and after he also † cites him for the Miracle*

* Page 13.

* Page 24.

† Page 24.

racle of *St. Andrews* in *Hungus's*
 time : and he * gives an account of • Pag. 95, & 96.
 the Tenour of the League betwixt
Charles the great and *Achaius*, and as-
 serts that the same was *Extracted out*
of the Registers and Books be menti-
on'd, and particularly, *out of the*
Second Book of Verimund. *Sir Richard*
Baker cites this *Verimund*, among the
 Authours, out of whom he Compi-
 led his History : and with him, he
 cites *Joannes Campbellus*, who (he
 says) wrote the History of the
Scots from the Origine of the Na-
 tion, till the year 1260, in which
 he liv'd : and also *Turgot*, who
 (he says) wrote our Annals from
 the beginning, till the year 1098,
 in which he lived (and him like-
 wise *Hollinshead* cites :) As also,
Aluredus Rivallensis, who wrote the
 History of King *David*, and died
 anno 1166 ; and *Bartholomæus An-*
glicus, who wrote a Chronicle of
 the *Scots*, and liv'd in the year 1360.
 Two of which three last, we have
 reason to think were *Scotsmen*, and
 have been called *English-men* onely,
 because they liv'd in the Counties
 which now belong to *England*, but
 then

then certainly belong'd to us ; and if they be *English-men*, they are yet the more credible Witness for us. And as the worthy *Baker* says, he Compil'd his History out of these Books , which he neither would , nor could , have said, if he had not seen them: So it is very probable that he did see them ; our Records and Manuscripts having been industriously carried to *England* by *Edward I* , as shall be hereafter observed : Nor can it be answered, that he cited them at second hand from *Boeth* , or *Buchanan* , for else he had cited the other Authours whom they cite ; such as *Richardus de sancto victore* , *Fordon* , *Major* , &c. All this doth evidently Demonstrate, that we had such Historians as *Verimund* , and the others above-cited, who asserted before *Fordon*, what he has related, so that it was most unwarrantable to say, that these things were Dream'd by *Boethius* , but that he was seen and considered by others, and cited in a particular part of *Verimund's* Book, which could not be Copi'd from *Boethius*, because he doth not
cite

cite *Verimund* for all these Trans-
 actions; and upon this * *Balæus*, a * Part, post.
 Learned *Englishman*, hath rested.
 And † *Hollinshed* says, that *Veri-* † Pag. 100. &
mund wrote a *Book de Regibus Sco-* pag. 460.
torum. Nor can it be deny'd that
Gesner in verbo *Verimund*, and other
 famous strangers, cite him as one
 who has written our History, *ab ex-*
ordio scoticæ gentis, usque ad Malcolmi
tempora, And it is incredible to think
 so good and grave a man could have
 been so impudent to assert * in his * Et lib. 7.
 Dedication to King *James 5*, *That*
these Books were sent to him by the Earl
of Argile; and his Brother the The-
saurer from Icolm-kill, and that, he
had follow'd them in writing his Hi-
story: Especially since he is, by
Erasmus that great Critick, admir'd
as a most Learned man, they having
studied together at Paris, where he re-
members that he was in great esteem.
 And in a Letter concerning him,
 anno 1530, insert in the Life of *E-*
rasmus, he remarks, that *Boethius* was
 a person who could not lie. How can
 it then be imagined, that he would
 have adventur'd to have Printed a
 whole *Romance*, and have told his
 King

King and the world, that he had the Manuscripts beside him? Nor is this asserted onely by *Boethius*, and our own Historians, but by *Paulus Jovius*, a very famous foreign Historian, who in his Description of

* *Afferuntur in arcanis templi armarum vetustissimorum Annalium Codices atque item late membranæ, ipsorum Regum subscriptæ manibus, aureisque vel cereis sigillorum imaginibus obsignatæ; quibus antiquæ leges editæque & finium ac Civitatum Jura publica continentur.*

Scotland, says, * That in *Jona* (which we call *Icolm-kill*) are kept the ancient Annals, and Manuscripts in hidden Presses of the Church, and large Parchments signed by the Kings own hands, and seal'd either with seals of Gold or Wax. By which also it appears, how nice we have been in securing the Faith of our History, the Seals of our Kings being put to what was written by our devout Church-men. And whereas the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, to lessen the Credit of *Boethius*, † Relates, that Bishop *Gavin Dowglas* advised *Polidor Virgil* not to follow his History. *Polidor Virgil* himself is appeal'd to, where there is no mention of *Boethius* at all, nor could it be; for *Polidor* regrates that *Gavin Dowglas* dy'd anno 1520, whereas *Boethius* was not publish'd till 1526, and * *Boethius* himself informs us, That he got the Records, from which he form'd his

† *Pag. 38. Pref.*

* *Lib. 7.*

his

his History, were sent him from Icolmkill, anno 1525, and no sooner; neither did he see those Warrands from which he Wrote his History, till that year. And it appears by that passage, that *Gavin Dowglas* believ'd our account, and produc'd a Manuscript for it, which I now cite, and use as a new Adminicle, and I prove it by the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*, and *Polidor*: and whereas the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* pretends that the Relation given by *Gavin Dowglas* agreed with *Nennius*, but contradicted *Boethius*; the contrary is palpable by *Polidor's* own Relation of what *Gavin Dowglas* writ to him, which agrees with *Boethius* in every thing relating to our Antiquity. The *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* is also most unjust to *Boethius*, in alledging, that *Vossius* considers him as a *fabuleus Authour*: For *Vossius* commends him from what *Erasmus* and *Buchanan* say of him, and in the end Taxes him onely a little for having believ'd too many miracles, a fault incident to most *Popish Writers* in these times, but to none more than to the *Bishop's* own obscure Authours, for which among

mong many other Testimonies, I refer my Reader to them who writ the Prefaces to the Histories of *Matthew of Westminster*, and to the *Life of King Alfred*, and *Walsingham's History*. It can also be proved by many famous Gentlemen, that the *Black-book of Scoon*, containing our Histories from the beginning, was among *President Spotswood's Books*, and was given by *Lewis Cant* to *Major General Lambert*, and by him to *Colonel Fairfax*; Which Book King *Charles* first had ransom'd from *Rome* by a considerable sum of money. And it is certain, that *Spotswood* had it, and the *Black-book of Paslay*, signed by the hands of three *Abbats*, when he Compil'd his History: Which Book of *Paslay*, together with the famous Book of *Plufcardin*, *Buchanan* says he had, and frequently Cites: and that there were such Books, is known to the whole Nation. And I my self have seen in the Learned *Sir Robert Sibbald's Library* (to whom this Nation owes very much) a very old Abridgment of the Book of *Paslay*

ſley (which Book *Uſher* himſelf alſo cites) agreeing in every thing with our Hiſtories, and which was extracted *per venerabilem virum Joannem Gibſon Canonicum Glaſguenſem, & Rectorem de Renfrew, anno 1501.* And two other old manuſcripts, the one call'd, *Excerpta de Chronicis Scotiæ, & Scoti-chronico*, which comes to the Reign of King *James, 2d.* and belong'd to *Doctör Arbuthnot* Phyſician to King *James 5th.* And this proves that there were *Chronica* different from *Fordon.* And the other, *Extracta de Registro prioratus Sancti-Andree*, giving the *Irish* Names of our Kings. As alſo I have ſeen a manuſcript written by a Brother of the *minores obſervants* of *Fedburgh*, in *Anno 1533.* Containing an abridgment of our Hiſtory, and whereof *Doctör Sibbald* has another Copy. And there is another old manuſcript, written by *Vintonius*, yet extant, which *Buchanan* alſo cites, and follows.

Having thus cleared, that there were ſufficient warrands, upon which our Hiſtorians might have founded: I ſhall in the next place, ſay ſomething of our

Historians, and clear, that they do serv'd the credit, and applause they met with, and that they founded on those good warrands, from which *Verimund*, *Boethius* and *Chambers* are formerly prov'd to have drawn their Histories, viz. Our Ancient Annals and Registers.

.. Pag. 26. Pref.

Fordon was no Monk, as the * *Bishop* is pleas'd to call him, and we had no such Monastery as *Fordon*: But he was *venerabilis vir dominus Johannes Fordon Presbyter*, and is called a Monk by the *Bishop* (who studies still his own conveniency) to make the World believe he was inclin'd to lie, as the *Monks* are said to have been in that Age; and to shew him interested for the independency of *Monks*, and *Culdees* from *Bishops*. This Authour began at least to write before the year 1341, For, in his Book, he speaks of that as a present year: This Book was so esteem'd, that there were Copies of it in most of our Monasteries, and one of them we have in very old, but in fair Characters, continu'd by *Arelat*; another continu'd by a Reverend man, *Walter Bowmaker*, Abbat of *Icolmkill*,

kill, and found in the custody of one, who had preserv'd several of the manuscripts of that Monastery: And both these continuations have drawn out our Histories to the reign of King *James 2d*. And it is not to be imagin'd that the Monasteries would have esteem'd it so much; or, that the *Abbat* of that Monastery, where our chief Annals were kept, would have continu'd it, if they, and he had not known it to agree with their Annals. And *For-don* cites frequently through his Book *Chronica, & alia Chronica*, and *Beda*, and follows him exactly: he cites also *Adamnanus*, who liv'd before the year 700. And *Turgot Archbishop* of *St. Andrews*, who liv'd Anno 1098, and *Alvared*, (who dedicated his Book to King *Mal-com 3d*, about the year 1057.) He cites also other foreign Authours, such as *Sigisbert*, and *Isidor*, and so has done all that the *Bishop* requires, and all that the best Historians can do: Neither does he follow *Jeffrey*, but contradicts him, even in the instance of *Bassianus*, as shall be cleared to conviction, in answering the *Bishop's*

objections. He has in him also *Baldredus*, or *Ethelredus*, and the Process before the *Pope*, containing the Copies of the authentick Letters, Objections, Apologies, and Answers made, and sign'd by *Edward 1.* and his *Parliament*, and the *Scotish Nobility*, produc'd before the *Pope*, about the year 1300, whereof the Copies are not onely extant from *Fordon*, but the *Bishop* also insinuates, that the Principals themselves are extant in *England*, and certainly they were at *Rome*. And *Fordon* cites many other considerable old Records: He writes in a good Style, and with good judgment: and the reason why this work was not Printed, was not, because it deserv'd not the Press, but because *Boethius*, *Buchanan* and *Lesly* having Printed their Histories in their own time, and there being no Printing in his, it was thought we had Histories enough: which also occasion'd the perishing of many of our excellent manuscripts. But why should the *Bishop* object to us *Fordon* his not being printed, since he cites against us manuscripts, never cited by

by any, and which have been left un-printed in a Countrey, where every thing is printed? and I dare say, after exact perusal of the *Bishop's* Book, and of the Authours cited by him, that *Fordon* is preferable to all these old Legends and most of these Authours, which he cites against us, the venerable *Beda* only excepted, who is still on our side.

Joannes Major was *Rector* of the famous *Divinity School of Paris*, and was a man of such Reputation in that University, as that he is yet remembred with esteem, and a man of too innocent a life, to have written a Romance, for a History, and he likewise relates to *Beda*, and our Annals.

One of the most accurate Writers in this age * says, That the talent of writing History has not been found on this side of the Alps in any save in Buchanan, who hath written the History of Scotland, better than Livius did that of Rome. The *Bishop of Condom* also, and the famous *Rapin* in their exact essays concerning History, have preferr'd none to him, save

* *Vicfort* memoirs des Ambassadeurs.

Mariana the *Jesuite*, whom all men know to be far inferiour, but they prefer *Mariana*, because *Buchanan* was a *Protestant*. *Joseph Scaliger* also says of *Buchanan* and us,

*Imperij fuerat Romani Scotia li-
mes,*

Romani Eloquij Scotia finis erit.

* Pref. new Trans-
lation of Plutarch's
Lives.

* Mr. *Dryden* also my friend, whom I esteem a great Critick, as well as Poet, prefers *Buchanan* to all the Historians that ever wrote in *Britain*. And though I approve as little of *Buchanan's* Politicks, as the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* doth, yet I will not be so unjust to him, as he is, † in saying, that *Buchanan*, in the *Life* of *Fergus* the first, relates to our old Annals, but he cites them not: for there is no such thing in the *Life* of that King: And he was not so much a favourer of Monarchy, to have allow'd it the advantage of so singular an Antiquity, if he had not found the same due to it, from our Manuscripts, and Records beyond all contradiction.

† Pag. 30. Pref.

Bishop Lesly, and *Arch-bishop Spotswood* are men who have written our
History

History with great judgment and truth, and it cannot be imagined, that they who were indeed banished for Loyalty, and suffer'd the loss of all for their persuasion, would have asserted a whole bundle of lies, or a continued Romance, as the Authour calls our History, especially since they had both seen *Luddus*, and knew that their History would be inquired into. And *

Lestly has the confidence to tell in his Preface to the Nobility, That, *his History had been drawn with all the exactness that the truth of History requires from the ancient Records of the Kingdom, and the Monasteries*, and he was then at *Rome*, whither they were carried. It is also very pleasant to hear the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* inveigh against *Dempster* the *Jesuite*, one of our antiquaries, whose Book certainly he had never seen, else he would never have call'd him a *Jesuite*, as he * does. For the very Title of his Book bears, that he was *Baro de Muireesk*, and a *Lawyer*, and he was indeed *Professor honorarius* of the *Civil Law* at *Bologna* in *Italy*, and dyed married, as the History of his

* In quibus scribenda ne Historie lex violaretur, illa que prius scripta sunt, non solum exegimus ad veritatem annuendum, quin publico regni nostri archivo, aliisque antiquissimis codicibus quos majores nostri Pastores, Senes, ac in alijs monasteriis. Kelgose servarunt, continerentur. Lest. parati ad nobil. populamque Scot. Pag. 29.

* Pag. 153.

Life bears: and we may know by the Elogies of the greatest *wits* in *Italy*, how much they esteem'd him for his extraordinary learning, and parts. I may add to these, *David Camerarius de fortitudine, &c. Scottorum*, beside *Richardus de sancta victore*; and *Cornelius Hibernicus*, both which wrote our ancient Histories, the last of them liv'd in the year 1140. And they are both follow'd by *Boethius*; and cited by *Vossius, Baleus, Sixtus Senensis* and others: and also *Adamnanus* that wrote *St. Columba's* Life.

From all which it appears, that our Historians have been men of great credit, and esteem; and have founded their History upon more authentick Documents, than almost any other Historians in the World; *viz.* the Records of many Monasteries, in the time when Monasteries were very devout, and upon the universal Tradition of the times, both Ancient and Modern; and that before there was any competition or controversie concerning our Antiquity: and that what they have said, has been universally believ'd, by all
the

the learn'd World. To which I shall add that our Clerk of Registers *Skeen*, the great Antiquary had added from these ancient Records a Chronology of our Kings, and which he has insert amongst our Acts of Parliament. Is not then the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* much to blame, when he would have all this pass for a Romance, and all these Authours to be reputed as onely one? Because, as he says, they followed one another from *Fordon*, and he follow'd *Jesfrey*: neither of which is true. Though I confess the contrivance of this untruth was pretty, but happily disappointed, by their asserting that they founded their Histories upon the old Records of our Monasteries, and on *Turgot*, *Verimund*, and others; all which they had seen, and who are elder than *Fordon*. And it might be as well objected against witnesses, that they came in and depos'd one after another; giving for the reason of their knowledge, that they had seen what they depos'd.

If all Manuscripts, which I have cited, were extant; I doubt not
but

but the Authour himself would acknowledge our Histories to be instructed beyond debate; and therefore if I can instruct them to have once been, they must be reputed, as good as extant still. For both Law, and common Reason having consider'd, that Papers are very subject to be lost, and to perish; have therefore allow'd, that if it can be prov'd that there were such Papers, and that they were lost by accident, that this probation shall supply the loss. And I desire to know, if the Warrands of *Doctor Burnet's* History of the Reformation had been burnt, would not the *Bishop of St. Asaph* have been angry, if his Testimony and *Doctor Stillingfleet's*, had not been sufficient to prove the tenour of them. And what have we for many Authours, whom *Livie*, *Josephus*, and *Herodot* cite, besides their own Testimony? And what probation did ever Mankind see stronger, than that which we adduce in this case? For first, that all our Monasteries did write our Annals, is beside common Fame, and universal and late Tradition, which passes
over

over all our Countrey, prov'd by the other Authorities above-cited: If then two ordinary Witnesses be sufficient to prove a matter of fact: we must much more allow, that this matter may be prov'd by very many persons, considerable for their devotion, and quality. 2. There are other Manuscripts yet extant, some whereof I my self have seen, and have formerly nam'd, all agreeing with the tenour of our History, and long prior to *Luddus's* starting of this debate, in *Anno*, 1572. And so must prove sufficiently to adminiculate our Histories, and these Witnesses, especially seeing they have nothing in them contrary to reason, or other credible Histories; but on the contrary, are supported by both: and written by Authours of great integrity, and knowledge; and have been receiv'd with great applause in the World; and are also confirm'd by the *English* Historians themselves. And therefore I must conclude with the learn'd *Vossius*, * *That albeit the* * De Hist. Lat. p. 4.
old monuments of Rome perisht, that therefore the faith of their History should

should not perish with them.

Lest it might be thought that we our selves caus'd destroy these Records, we now cite, to prevent farther inquiry ; and to shew how much harder it is for us, than other Nations, to be call'd to such an account : I shall desire Strangers to be inform'd, as a *casus omisionis*, that our ancient Records were destroyed in three remarkable occasions. 1. When *Edward* the first took away all our Records that he could find, having, as all Historians declare, resolv'd to abolish all memory of our Nation : and of which we accus'd him before the *Pope*, and he did not deny it. 2. When our *Monks* flying to *Rome* at the Reformation, carry'd with them their Records. 3. By *Cromwell*, who carry'd our Records to *England*, and many of which were lost at Sea in their return.

SECT. 4.
The other Historians of this
Title cited against
us, Examined.

But if our Historians are to be rejected, I hope, it must be by the Authority of far moe, and far more credible Authours, agreeable to a principle of *Doctor Stillingfleet's*, the Patron

Patron of our *Bishop's Book*, who

* says, *Certainly they who undertake* * Orig. Sac. p.
to contradict that which is received by 114. Sect. 5.

common consent, must bring stronger, and clearer evidence ; than that, on which that consent is grounded, or else their exceptions ought to be rejected with the highest indignation. Which Principle, as it seems to be recommended by reason, so it is founded upon the expres Law of all Nations ; by which it is acknowledg'd, that the Testimonies of Witnesses are not to be reprobated, but by others in a double number, and who are of far greater Authority. And from this Principle, it is, that if a Jury of Fifteen hath absolv'd a Man unjustly, though that Jury consisted of the meanest Men of the Nation, yet their Verdict cannot be Question'd for errour, otherwise than by twenty five, whereof most part must be persons of quality, who must proceed upon most infallible grounds, and evidences. By this rule then, our Historians cannot be redargu'd, otherways than by the Testimonies of far more unsuspected Historians, who agree in what they

they assert against us, and who are receiv'd with greater applause in the World, than ours, and proceed upon far stronger evidences. Let us then examine, if these qualifications can be found in those Historians, by whom, the faith of ours is to be overturned. And first, as to the old *British* Historians, it might be objected by us, that they are too much interested, both because the Subject Matter is an emulation for Antiquity between the two Nations, and because they were over-run by our Countrey-men at that time, to a degree to make them passionate enough, for disabling a Witness: And as it is very remarkable that *Florentius Wigorniensis*, *Malmesburiensis*, *Huntingdonensis*, and *Hoveden* wrote about the Reign of *Henry 2.* and *Tho. Walsingham*, and *Matthew of Westminster*, in the Reigns of *Edward 3.* and *Henry 6.* At all which times there were great Wars and Animofities betwixt the Nations. So if any man will read the sad lamentations that are in *Gildas*, and the rage with which he cries out against us, no man can allow him to be an unsuspected

suspected Judge, or Witness, in what concerns our Honour: *Polidor Virgil* suspects, * *That there are some things supposititious in the History of Gildas*; and if any thing, certainly we may suspect most, what is added concerning us; since the design of detracting from our *History*, pos-
 selt too much those, who were Masters of that Manuscript, and Printed the same. And yet *Gildas* says very little, that can be wrested against us in the points controverted: being as *Beda* interprets him, clearly for us, as shall hereafter appear.

* Pag. 16.

2. As our Writers are not interiour in number, so most of theirs deserve no credit, and they agree not so well against us, in the points controverted, as our Authours do in what they assert; viz. *when we settled here*, and who were *our first Kings*: For * *Nennius Britannus* does positively say, *that the Scots came here in the time of Brutus. Matthew of Westminster* says, *that we settled here the eleventh year after Christ*. And *Baker* * acknowledges, that *Severus built his Wall against the Scots and Picts*, without mentioning this to be the first incursion

* Cap. 3. as cited by S. Asaph, pag. 14. preli.

* Pag. 21.

incurſion : and this at leaſt confutes the *Biſhop of St. Aſaph*, who asserts that we were not come to this Iſle even by way of incurſion, till after the year 300. As they thus differ remarkably as to our Origination, and moſt of them follow *Jeffrey's* ridiculous inventions, as our Authour himſelf acknowledges: So **Holinſhed* ſpeaking of thoſe ancient times, ſays, *That Scotland had in thoſe days two Kingdoms, the one whereof conſiſted of the Picts, called Pictland ; and the other of the Iriſh Race, call'd Scotland : which I hope (ſays he) no wiſe man will readily deny.* And *Caixton* in his old *Chronicle of England*, tells, that *the King of the Scots aſſiſted Caſſibulon King of the Britons againſt Julius Cæſar*, which ſhews that our Antiquity was believed. And *Baleus* a moſt famous *Engliſh* Chronologiſt, ſays, that * *the Scots wrote, &c. ex incorrupta annalium fide.* 3. That our ſettlement was ſo ancient, as not onely to have been contemporary with their *Hiſtorians*, but even to be higher than their Chronology could reach to ; appears from this, that *Gildas* declares † *he knew*

* Pag. 16.

† Bal. præf. part.
poſt.

† De excid. Brit.

knew nothing of us, but what he was forc'd to borrow from beyond Sea. * Beda

* Cap. i. Bedæ

places us amongst the old Inhabitants of this Isle: without condescending upon the particular time: which he had given us, if he had known it himself, as he did in all other occasions. Nennius their next Authour to Beda, owns, that the most skilfull amongst the Scots, affirm'd, in his time, that we were descended from Scota: as our Authours now doe.

* And the eldest after him, affirm, *that we are descended from Albanactus second Son to Brutus. And this is so far acknowledg'd by succeeding Ages, that Edward the first did upon that account claim the superiority to England over us, as Cadet to Locrius the eldest Son of Brutus. And we may see in Hollinshed, * where he brings in many Scottish Kings doing Homage to the Kings of Britain, long prior to this year 503. and in which severall of their Authours agree with him. And the Bishop foreseeing the unanswerable strength of this Argument, acknowledges this superiority to be a most unjust pretension; as indeed it is; especially*

* St. Asaph, p. 12

* L. 2. De Script.
Britan. c. 8, & 9.

E

seeing

seeing it is undeniable, that there was no such thing known in the World then, as that *Feudal Homage* which the *English* Historians contend for; there being no Vestige thereof in any part of *Europe*, till the 800 year of God, and we having had no such Kings as these whom they name in that ancient Homage. But yet even all these Forgeries prove clearly, that we were consider'd by those Writers, as Inhabitants here past all Memory, and as ancient as themselves.

* Girald Camb.
Distinct. 3. cap. 7.

* *Giraldus Cambrensis* also considers us, as descended from Gathelus and Scota; which proves not onely, that this old Tradition was believ'd, but that *Fordon* was not the inventor of it. For *Girald* liv'd about 200 years before *Fordon*. There is likewise a very full and well written Manuscript in the hands of the Lord *Maitland*, which makes us to come from Spain, about the year of the World, 3242. and to have been first govern'd by Captains, and thereafter govern'd by the Kings mention'd in our History.

4. There are no positive Authorities produc'd against us, condescending expressly, when our *Royal Line* did begin,

begin, save three *Legendary Stories*, written with design, in whom no Protestant Bishop can find any considerable passages, worthy to be cited: the easiest things in them being,

* *that a Child made a Fire of Ice*;† and that when *St. Columba* was sick, his *Mare wept*. And thus our Adversaries, as strong, as they conceive, in their Authority as *Sampson*, offer to defeat us with the Jaw-bone of an Ass.

* Vita St. Pat.

Cap. 5.

† Vita Columb. per Adamn. lib. 3. c. 16.

The first is a nameless Authour of *St. Patrick's* life, cited by * *Usher*, * *De Eccl. Brit. primord.* p. 187. who affirms, that when *Neil Neilialagh* was King of Ireland, and *Constantius* was Emperour, *Muredus* King of Ulster, had six Sons, who possessed themselves of the Northern parts of Britain; and the Nation sprung from them (as *Giraldus* repeating this passage, says) was by a special name called Scotland. And it may be, saith the Bishop. *Reuda*, mention'd by *Beda*, was one of these six Sons. *Joeline*, another Authour of *St. Patrick's* life, * *Cap. 137.* tells, that the twelve Sons of the King of Dalrieda in Ireland, having despised their youngest Brother *Fergus*, he complain'd of them to *St. Pa-*

trick : And he Prophefied to him, that from him ſhould deſcend Kings, who ſhould reign in many foreign Kingdoms : and accordingly Fergus became King of all Dalrieda, and after his Succeſſours had for many Generations Reigned there , Aidanus, the Son of Gabranus, conquer'd Albania, now call'd Scotland, and the other Iſles, in which his Poſterity by due Succeſſion Reign to this day. But an elder Authour cited by Cambden (and whom * Uſher calls the writer of the Tigernack Annals) brings the Scotiſh Kings from another Origine, to which Uſher himſelf is inclin'd. Fergus (ſays that Authour) the Son of Eric was the firſt of the off-ſpring of Chonar, who obtain'd the Kingdom of Albania from Brown-Albain, to the Irish Sea and Inch-gall, whom he places Anno 503. and from him the Kings of Fergus's Race Reign'd in Brun-Albain, or Brun-heir to Alphin the Son of Eochal, and with this (as the Biſhop ſays) the Irish Genealogies agree : And thus our approv'd Hiſtory muſt be overturn'd by Legends, and Genealogies.

Upon which paſſages I beg leave to make theſe few reflexions. Firſt, that

that (beside, that these Authours liv'd not within 600 years of the times of which they wrote (which the *Bishop of St. Asaph* objects to ours) they do also contradict not onely our Story, but the *Roman*, who place us here much sooner.) All these three Authours contradict one another, in the most remarkable part of our History, and in a late Origin: which shews them neither faithfull, nor learn'd Chronologists. The first nameless Authour, writer of the life of *St. Patrick*, makes *our King* to have been one of the Sons of *Mured*, whom *Usher* conjectures to have been *Reuther*: and he must have liv'd in 360. For *Constantius* reign'd then, and *Mured's* Sons liv'd in his Reign: *Jocelin* makes *Aidan* to be the first, and to have sprung from *Fergus* after many Generations: And this agrees well with ours, but not with the other Writers of *St. Patrick's* life. For we place the beginning of *Aidan's* Reign in 570. and it could be no sooner, according to *Jocelin*. The third, is the Authour of the *Tiger-pack Annals*, or an ancienter Writer cited by *Cambden*, who places *our first King*

King in 503, and there he is call'd *Fergus*; and so they neither agree in the name of our first King, nor in the time of their entry to this Kingdom. Which dreaming Glances have arisen from an imperfect notion of our History, the first having borrow'd his from *Beda*, who brings us here, *sub duce Reuda*: the second has been invented, to fulfill the Prophecy of *St. Patrick*, who promis'd the Kingdom not to *Fergus* himself, but to one of his Succession, and therefore finding none of our Kings nam'd in *Beda*, save *Reuther*, and *Aidan*; he fixes on *Aidan* as the latest. And the third of these, finding that *Fergus* was uncontrovertedly the name of our first King, will rather contradict the rest, and go back from *Aidan* to *Fergus*. And thus they clench here, making the first *Fergus*, the second, as they do elsewhere, in making *Scotia* to be *Ireland*, or *Scotia major*.

2. Since the *Bishop's* Authours are so irreconcilable, what Warrands can he, or they have, to contradict our positive History? And *Bishop Usher* cites another Authour of *St. Patrick's*

* De Primord.
pag. 611.

Patrick's life, *Meyerus*, who tells us that after *St. Patrick's Voyage* about this Isle; he turn'd his Boat to an Isle which bears to this day the name of *St. Patrick*; out of which Isle, I believe, the Accusers of our Historians got their best Intelligence.

3. That this *Reuda* could not be one of *Mureda's* six Sons, is most clear, both because *Beda* speaks of the *Scots* coming to this Isle, as very ancient, even in his time, which could not be, if this had happen'd in anno 360; for *Beda* liv'd in anno 730, and how can it be imagin'd, that *Beda* could not have known the whole Series of a Royal Descent, that was so recent? Nor do our Historians, whose faith is not controverted after *Fergus* the second, mention any *Reuda* after his Reign: and so he behov'd to be an elder King, and consequently we had Kings before *Fergus* the second, which the Authour denies. Nor could any of these Sons of *Mured* have been *Fergus* the second, whom these late Inventours call our first King, for no Authour makes *Fergus* the second to have reign'd, within

more than 40 Years, after *Constantius*. *Luddus* and *Cambden* assert us to have settled here, under *Fergus* the second, in the Reign of *Honorius*; at which time *Fergus* the second did indeed Reign. *Usher* relates onely the three Authorities of those ridiculous Legends: and the Bishop of St. *Asaph* fixes on the year 503, and so contradicts not onely our Historians, but * *Luddus* and † *Cambden* in making *Fergus* the second near 100 years later, than truly he was.

* Pag. 62.

† Cap. Scoti.

As these few prime and late Authors who controvert our Antiquity, differ thus in the names of our first Kings, and the time of their settlement in *Scotland*: so they differ in these following Cardinal points of their new invented Hypothesis. The Bishop of St. * *Asaph* thinks it necessary, for maintaining that the *Scots* settl'd not till the 503, to assert that *the Picts fill'd all the Northern part of Britain, and that these Picts were a ruder sort of Britons, divided in South, and North Picts:* in which he follows * *Cambden*; yet with this difference, implying a contradiction,

* Cap. 1.

* Camb. Cap. Pict.

tradition, that *Cambden* makes these *Deucaledones*, and *Vesturiones*, to signify by a *British* derivation, *Picts*, to the *East* and *West*: whereas the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, from a *British* derivation of the same words, calls them *Southern* and *Northern Picts*. But *Cambden* does acknowledge plainly, that in this derivation, he differs from the venerable *Beda*, whose Authority he truly foretells will weigh down the reasons he brings for his conjecture. And as he, contrary to the universally receiv'd opinion, denies the *Picts* to be *Schythians*, though they were really so, he makes the *Scots* to be *Schythians*, though really they were not so.

* *Usher* not having considered all the Scheme and consequences of this new Hypothesis (as the Bishop of *St. Asaph* has done with more cunning) follows *Beda*, in bringing the *Picts* from *Schythia*, but he differs from *Beda*, in that he brings them here after our *Saviour's* birth: and produces such Authours, as he uses in our occasions, who assign three different Periods of time, for their settlement: the last whereof, and to which

* De Primord. ca.
11. init.

which he inclines, is said to be, under the Emperours *Gratian* and *Valentinian*: and so makes the *Scots* and *Picts* to have come in together about the year 400, and yet he finds no inconveniency in bringing us to *Scotland* under *Gathelus* and *Scota*, and in asserting, that we settled first in *Galloway*, whereas all our Historians do justly say, *Gathelus* and *Scota* never came to *Scotland*, and the Bishop of *St. Asaph* and *Cambden* assert our descent from *Scota*, to be a fiction, and the Bishop of *St. Asaph* *confesses us to have first fixt in *Argile*.

* Cap. 1.

* Cap. 1. Sect. 12,
& 13.

† Cap. Pict.

Another material difference amongst them is, that the Bishop of *St. Asaph* * confines us and the *Picts* for 1000 years, be-north *Grahams Dike*, call'd *Severus Wall*, beyond *Clyde* and *Forth*. Whereas *Cambden* † asserts that *Edinburgh* was the chief Seat of the Kings of the *Picts*, and derives the names of *Louthian*, *Edinburgh*, and *Pictland*, from *Pictish* words.

From all which it clearly appears, that no weight is to be laid on such irreconcilable Authours: and yet by these onely, is the Antiquity of our
Kings

Kings and Nation controverted. But to confirm fully our History, from *Julius Cæsar's* time, and to shew that the *British* Historians, do not onely contradict one another, but do contradict the two onely ancient Historians, who could understand any thing of our Origin, as being the eldest and most deserving of all their own Authours, viz. *Gildas* and *Beda*: I do appeal to them. And I begin with *Beda*, because he is more full, and interprets the other. The venerable *Beda*, though a *Saxon* himself, and so an enemy to us, having written an exact Chronology, according to the periods of time; does in his first *cap. de priscis incolis*, * tell us, that God was prais'd in five Languages in this Isle, that of the English, Britons, Scots, Picts and Latines: and then proceeds to tell, that the Britons were the first possessours, and possesse the south parts, after which came the Picts to the northern parts, and the Scots under Reuda, thereafter made a third Nation, in that part belonging to the Picts, getting the Western part of Scotland, North from the Picts, called *Dumbrion* or *Alcluth*. And he

*Quinque gentium
linguis unam ean-
demque summe ve-
ritatis, & vera sub-
limitatis, scientiam
scrutatur, confite-
tur Anglorum, viz.
Britonum, Scoto-
rum, &c. Bed.
l. 2 c. 1. Eccl. Hist.*

he inculcates their fixing here, by three several, but concurring expressions. 1. *Progressi ex Hibernia, they left Ireland.* 2. *Sedes vindicarunt in Britannia, they settled in Britain.* 3. *in Britannia Britonibus & Pictis gentem tertiam addiderunt, they added a third Nation to the Britons and Picts*; and that this was very ancient, is clear; for he fixes them in *Britain*, in that Chapter, wherein he treats *de priscis incolis*; and having thus settled the *Scots* and *Picts* in his first Chapter, with the *Britains*; he proceeds in the second Chapter, to settle the fourth Nation, *viz. the Latines or Romans*, beginning with these words, * *But this Britain was unknown, and not entred upon by the Romans, till Julius Cæsar's time.* And having describ'd the Wars betwixt these three Nations, and the *Roman Emperours*, in a due gradation, marking every period of time, through the Reign of their consecutive *Emperours*: and how at last the *Romans* had abandon'd the *Island*, and *Ætius*, the *Roman Consul*, had refus'd the Petition of the miserable *Britons*, so often defeated
by

* Verum eadem
Britannia Romanis
usque ad Cæsum
Jul. Cæf. inaccessa
atque incognita
fuit. Beda Hist. Ec-
cles. l. i. cap. 2.

by the *Scots* and *Picts* : he, in the 14 *Cap.* relates, how the *Britons* upon deep consultation, brought in the *Saxons*, and from thence continues the *Saxon* History. This being the tract of *Beda's* History, is there any place to doubt, but that the *Scots* were settled before the *Saxons* ? For the Wars betwixt the *Romans* and *Scots* are related exactly before any mention is made of the *Saxons* : and at last they are onely brought in to assist the *Britons* against the *Scots* and *Picts*, because the *Britons* were deserted by the *Romans*, and consequently the *Saxons* having been brought in *anno* 449. it unanswerably follows, that the *Scots* were settl'd here, and made a third Nation, long before the 503, as the Bishop of *St. Asaph* alledges, at which time he makes us to have settl'd here very cunningly, but not sincerely, upon design to make us later than the *English*. As also it appears very clearly that the *Scots* settl'd here even before *Julius Cæsar's* time, for after *Beda* (who proceeds exactly according to the Periods of time) had settl'd us in
Britain,

*Verum eadem
Britannia Romanis
usque ad Caium:
Jul. Cæs. inaccessa
atque incognita
fuit, Beda Ecclesiæ
hist. l. 1. cap. 2.*

Britain, he tells, that *this Britain* was *unknown to the Romans*, and describes what these *Romans* did in the *Isle*, and how they fought with the *Picts* and *Us*, under their subsequent *Emperours*, without ever speaking again of the entry of the *Scots*: as having settl'd them in the first *cap.* before *Cæsar's* time. Nor is the time alter'd in any other Period, and he is so carefull of the Period of time, that he subjoyns to his work a Chronological Recapitulation, which is very exact. And he being a *Saxon*, had certainly told (as the Bishop now does) that the *Saxons* were elder than *We*, if this had been true: which is a demonstration according to the Rules of Chronology against the Bishop of *St. Asaph*. It may be, some may wonder why *Beda* mentions not our coming under *Fergus* the first; and some may object, that in this we go higher than *Beda*. To which it is answered, That our History confesses, that the *Scots* came over from *Ireland*, at several times. Once under *Fergus* the first, but not being numerous enough, *Reutherus* brought over another recruit,

cruit, and thereafter *Fergus* the second brought over others, after his Predecessour *Eugenius* was expell'd by the *Romans* and *Britons*. And in so old an Antiquity, its much for *Beda*, even to know the Descent under *Reuda*. And whereas the *Bishop* quarrels *Beda*, that he gives no Authority for this; The Reply is, that if it were requisite, then one Authour behov'd to give another, and he a third, & sic in infinitum. Nor did ever any man before him require an authority in so ancient an Authour: and this answer is a full proof of the Bishop's Conviction, who being absolutely gravel'd here, he grows as angry at *Beda*, as at our Historians: and tells disdainfully, that *this might be true for ought Beda knew*; and adds, that the *Scots* were indeed here in *Beda's* time, and he speaks according to his own time, which were to make *Beda* speak great non-sense. For *Beda* speaks here of the *preterit*, and not the *present* time, viz. The first Vastations spoke of by *Gildas*, and we shall see that others who lived in the time, agree with him.

The

The second Citation I shall bring from *Beda*, shall be from the 5th cap. l 1. *Eccl. Hist.* where he says, that * *Severus built a Wall to defend against the other unconquer'd Nations*, and in the 12 cap. he tells that † *Britain was vex'd by the Scots and Picts, two over-Sea; or Transmarine Nations*; and thereafter as if he had been afraid, that this word *Transmarine*, might have been mistaken, he adds, || that *they were not call'd Transmarine, because they liv'd; and were settl'd out of Britain; but because they were separated from that part of Britain, by the two Seas; which did almost meet*. And in this he agrees exactly with *Tacitus*, Who in the life of *Agricola*, says, that *there being a Wall built betwixt these two Seas, the Roman enemies, were clos'd up as in an Isle*. By this place of *Beda*, it is also very clear, that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain*, while the *Romans* fought against the *Picts* and *Scots*, and consequently before they were call'd by the *Picts* to defend them against the *Saxons*, as is alledg'd by the Bishop. If the *Scots* had not been living in this Isle, at that time, the
 explication

* *Bed. l. 1. c. 5.*
Eccl. hist. Itaque
Severus magnam
fossam firmissimam
que vallum crebris
insuper turribus
communitum à ma-
ri ad mare duxit.

† *Bed. l. 1. c. 12.*
Eccl. hist. Denique
subito duabus gen-
ibus transmarinis
vehementer saevit,
Scotorum à circio
Pictorum ab Aquil-
one multos stupet
genisque per annos.

|| *Transmarinas*
autem dicimus has
gentes, non quod ex-
tra Britanniam
essent posite, sed
quia à parte Brito-
rum erant remotæ,
duobus finibus mari
interjacentibus
quorum unus ab ori-
entali mari, alter ab
occidentali, Britan-
niæ terras longe la-
tèque irrumpit,
quomodo ad se invi-
cem perungere
possunt.

explication of *Transmarine* had been both ridiculous and untrue. And as it is not presumable, that the venerable *Beda* would have asserted this, if he had not certainly known it; so it was very easie for him to know it, that being so publick a thing, which concerned his own, as well as his Neighbour Nation. But if the *Scots* had settled in anno 503, *Beda* could not have called them * *Prisci Incolæ*, and reckoned them amongst the ancient Inhabitants. For a man living in his time, might have told him, that his Father saw the *Scots* called over, by the *Picts*: and that they settled here in his time. *Beda* being thus clear to a Demonstration, as far as Chronology and History can allow. I desire to know, how what *Gildas* says, can contradict our History; since he copies *Gildas*, and lived within 110 Years of him? and since both wrote the same Actions in almost the same words? or how can it be imagined, that if *Gildas* had known our Origin to be so late, he would not have told it to our disadvantage? whereas on the con-

* Cap. I.

F

trary

trary, he speaks of *Scots* and *Picts* as living in this Isle, after the same manner as *Transmarin*, in the same sense in which *Beda* interprets it; which is because they lived not without the Isle, but on the other side of the Wall, which made an Isle. From which it follows necessarily that in *Gildas's* time the *Scots* dwelt not without the Isle of *Britain*; and *Gildas* having been born in anno 493, and as is said in the calculation prefixed to that * Edition, which himself relates, it is clear that he was born 10 years before that year, in which the Bishop of *St. Asaph* pretends we first settled here; and so certainly he could not but have taken notice of the settlement of a Nation, in which he was so much concern'd. And albeit he says once, speaking of us, that *Hiberni revertuntur domum*. Yet that was spoke of us, as settled here, and as being *Irish* by extraction, as shall be hereafter cleared. Nor must our Histories which are so positive and unanimous, be overturned by Clenshes, and Equivocations, and remote weak Consequences, without Authors

* Pag. 120. num.
edit. Heidelberg.

thours living at the time and mentioning expressly so remarkable an accident.

Before I enter upon foreign Citations, without the Isle; I must observe, that we having kept the *Romans* (the onely writing Nation that had any knowledge of those our Isles) from entering our Kingdom; they could not know our Antiquities, as they did those of *England*, or *France*, whom they had conquered. But our being ingaged in a constant War with them, is so universally related, by all their Historians; that, to deny our being a Nation, and in *Britain*, when they so frequently and unanimously write of us, as *Gens, & gens etiam Britannica*, fighting here; cannot but seem raillery to any serious man; and the being able to controvert it, is rather a mark of nimbleness of Wit, than skill in Antiquity. But however I shall adduce some few Foreign Authours, whose Testimonies seem to me unanswerable, being joined with, and illustrated, by what I formerly

said from the venerable *Beda*, and the Historians within this Isle.

29. 191.

38.

My first Authour is *Emmenius* in his *Panegyrick* to *Constantine*, in praise of his Father *Constantius*: who, preferring the Victory *Constantius* had over the *Britons*, to that which *Julius Cæsar* had over them; says, † *That the Britons, at the time Cæsar conquered them, were a rude Nation, being onely used to fight against the Picts and Irish of the British Countrey, enemies half naked, and so easily yielded to the Roman Arms and Ensigns.* By which citation we contend, that it is proved, that in the time of *Julius Cæsar*; there was another Nation beside the *Picts*, who then inhabited *Britain*; and were a *Colony* of the *Irish*; and these must certainly have been the *Scots*. For it cannot be pretended, that ever there was another *Colony* of the *Irish* in *Britain*, beside us. And it is uncontroverted on all hands, that we are that *Colony* of the *Irish*, who onely used to fight with the *Picts*, against the *Britons*, and therefore, that answer made by the *Bishop*,
that

that this place relates onely to the *Irish*, and not to the *Scots*, is of no moment. But he has another answer which his Lordship insists more upon; and for clearing whereof, I must cite the Latin. *Ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis, & soli Britanni Pictis modo, & Hibernis assueta hostibus, adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt.* His answer is, that the words, *soli Britanni*, are the *Nominative*, and not the *Genitive*, and his Lordship confesses, † that if the words be in the *Geni-* † pag. 11.
tive they are clear of *Buchanan's* side. And that they are of the *Genitive*, all disinterested men, who understand the *Latine*, will confess: And *Cambden* himself, though a learned School-master, and in other citations about our antiquity, somewhat more humorous, than so worthy a man needed to be; trusts to no other answer, but that the *Panegyrist* spoke here, according to the conception of the age wherein he lived. But, as any citation may be thus answered, so if he had not spoken with relation to the time of *Julius Cæsar*, the comparison and complement

plement had, had no force. The learned *Usher* likewise objects not this to *Buchanan*, which shews also his acquiescence. 2. If this, *Natio rudis* had been the same thing with *solis Britannii*, and that the sense must be, as his Lordship says, a *rude Nation*, the Britons; then not onely it had been superfluous, but inconsistent with true sense. For how can the same thing be copulated with its self; and though it may be said, *Natio rudis solis Britannii, assueta hostibus*, yet certainly, *assueti* had been more elegant for an Oratour, if *solis Britannii* had been the *Nominative*. And the great * *Joseph Scaliger*, one of the best Judges both for that kind of learning, and disinterestedness, exclaims against *Luddus*, for misconstruing so the words; and therefore the Bishop might have spared the saying, † *that Cambden ought to have given Buchanan correction*; for the great *Joseph Scaliger*, and *Buchanan* that incomparable *Humanist*, are fitter to give, than receive correction from any in the Isle, or age.

I must

* Is not in lib. 4:
Tibull.

† pag. 11.

I must also observe, that the Bishop has pointed these words other-ways than they are in the Authour; for in the Authour (of *Paulus Stephanus* and *Plantin's* Editions, who were the most learned and exact of all Printers) there is no *Comma* immediately after the words, *solī Britannī*, and it is pointed as I have set it down here, and even * *Luddus* is just here. But the Bishop has very wittily added the *Comma* after these words. Now, without the *Comma* it is clear, that the *Panegyrist* meant *Pictis & Hibernis solī Britannī*; and if the *Panegyrist* had designed that his words should have been constructed, as the Bishop has construed them: So great an *O-ratour* would certainly have said, *solī Britannī Natio ad hoc etiam tunc rudis, &c.* And in that case, the words had been clear, and the ingenious Bishop needed not, in translating them, to have been forced to use the † word, *Nation*, twice, because the † sense was hard and unnatural, according to his construction. And whereas the Bishop pretends, || that the words constructed according to Bucha-

* pag. 37.

† pag. 12.

|| pag. ibid.

nan, would not have run so strong in the comparison, for the strength of the comparison lies, saith he, in that Julius Cæsar's Victory was not so great as that of Constantius; because Cæsar overcame a Nation, yet rude, unskilfull of War, and onely Britons, a Nation used to no other Enemies but Picts and Irish; whereas Constantius overcame Carausius, who had got a Roman Legion on his side, &c. But, by his Lordship's favour, the comparison runs strong enough thus, according to Buchanan's construction. Cæsar overcame the Britons, when they were yet a rude Nation, used onely to fight against the Picts, and Irish, who lived upon the Land, or Isle of Britain: but Constantius overcame them, after they had been long trained up in War. And certainly, a Nation is a far more formidable Enemy after their being long trained up in War, than when yet rude and unexperienced; though they had had the accession of a Roman Legion; which could signifie nothing against a whole Roman Army. Nor does it follow, that the words must be ill constructed, because,

cause, if so, the comparison would be stronger: for it is sufficient to sustain the construction, that in the comparison, *Constantius* was to be preferred in the way I have mentioned. 4. If there were any doubtfulness in these words, as there is none; yet they ought to be interpreted so, as to consist with other Authours and Histories, and especially with *Beda*; for in our sense, they confirm his Chronological Account, of our being in this Isle, before *Julius Cæsar's* time: and the Bishop must still remember, that he cannot overturn our received Histories except he produce Arguments, which infallibly conclude against them: It being a rule in Law that, *verba semper sunt interpretanda potius, ut scriptura, vel actus subsistat; quam ut destruatur.* This shews also that in *Constantius's* time, which was about the Year 300. the *Britons* were *assueti*, used to fight with the *Scots* and *Picts*: and this use must imply a long time. And so it is very probable, that we had frequent Wars with the *Britons*, long before this time, and consequently

† Sect. 5, 6. cap. 1. quently the Bishop errs, † asserting
*We were not in Britain even by way
 of incursion, till the year 300.*

If it be objected, that in the
 phrase *Soli Britanni*, *Britanni* is a
 Substantive, *Britannici* being still
 the Adjective; and therefore these
 words must be constructed to be the
 Nominative Case, as St. *Asaph* al-
 ledgeth. I prove the contrary by
Lucretius,

*Nam quid Britannum Cælum dis-
 ferre putamus, &c.*

Claudianus *de quarto Consulatu Ho-*
norii,

Terribilis Mauro, debellatôrq; Bri-
tanni

Littoris. ———

Eumenius, ibid.

A farther confirmation of this,
 arises from the same *Eumenius*, in
 this same *Panegyrick*: where spea-
 king of *Constantius's* Victory over
 this Island, he saith, *Neque enim ille,*
tot tantisque rebus gestis, non dico
Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum sil-
vas & paludes, sed nec Hiberniam
proximam, nec Thulen ultimam, nec
ipsæ si quæ sunt, fortunatarum In-
sulas dignabatur acquirere. And
 though

though *Usher* foreseeing the force of this Argument, endeavours to elude it, by contending, that by the *Caledonii*, are here mean'd the *Picts*, because, the Words *aliorumque Pictorum*, had else been impertinent. Yet to make the *Scots* not to be *Caledonians* in ancient Authours, were too great a Task, even for *Usher*: that being contrary to the universally received opinion of all the Learned; * some of which, I have cited in the Margin, but for a farther proof, I shall here cite a *Roman* that lived very near *Eumenius's* time, and who almost speaks in the same words with him, *Latinus, Patricius, Drepanius*, who in his *Panegyrick* to *Theodosius* the elder, that lived *anno 367*, complements him, upon * having reduced the *Scots* to their Marishes, clearing that the *silvæ* and *paludes Caledonum* were, the *Scotorum Silvæ*. Though Strangers in those ancient times, could little distinguish *Picts* from *Scots*. And from which I farther evince, that the *Scots*, before the Year 400, dwelt in *Scotland*, as their own Countrey; else it had been impertinent

* *Guidus Panciroli* comment. ad notitiam imperii occident. p. 159. where he cites for this *Dion. Eusebium & Spartianus*, and says that *Caledonia apud eos nunc Scotia dicitur Dion. in vita Severi Imp. anno 207. Bergier. l. 1. c. 10.*

* *Pag. 248. Edit. Plantin. Redactum ad paludes suas Scotorum.*

trinent and untrue, to say, that the Scots were reduced to their own Marshes.

Having thus cleared that the Scots were *Caledonians*, it clearly follows, that all the ancient Authors who write of the *Caledonii*, prove the Antiquity of the Scots, and therefore *Valerius Flaccus* proves our Antiquity, who writing to *Domitian*, in praise of his Father *Vespasian* who was known to have made War with us about the Year 70 after Christ, says,

—*Caledonius, postquam tua Carba-
sa vexit*

*Oceanus Phrygios prius indignatus
Iulos.*

* Lib. 10. Epig. 44. And **Martial* who lived in *Augustus* time says,

*Quinte Caledonios, Ovide visure
Britannos,*

*Et viridem Tethyn Oceanumque
Patrem.*

Next to these I cite *Tacitus*, who in the life of *Agricola*, brings in that famous *Galgacus*, who did fight the Romans, near to the *Grampian Hills*.

Hills. And that he was a *Scotish* King, or *Leader*, is confirmed from * *Lipſius*, who calls him *Galgacus Scotus*. This is alſo confirmed by the exact and noble *French* Manuscript foreſaid; which ſays, that *Dardan* was choſen, becauſe *Galdus* was not of age: Alluding to our old Law, appointing that the immediate Heir of the Crown, being by his Infancy unable to govern, the Government ſhould in that caſe be devolved upon the next, who was able to govern: which Law was ſo ancient, that it is ſaid to be enacted immediately upon the death of *Fergus* 1. And by *Bergier*, afterwards King's Advocate of *France*; who in his learned Hiſtory of the High-ways of *Rome*, * calls him *Prince of the Caledonians or the Scots*. And to what better Judges can we appeal, in a matter concerning *Roman* Antiquities, and the ſenſe of a *Roman* Authour; than to thoſe two, who are the moſt famous of all the *Roman* Antiquaries? the one having written a Book concerning the *Roman* greatneſs, and the other concerning the magnificence of the *Romans* in their High-ways. Nor could

* Comment. ad vi-
tam Agricola.

* L. 1. cap. 10.
numb. 9. Prince
des Caledoniens.
ou Eſſoſſois.

Petrucio Ubaldini
alſo in deſcript. de-
la Scotia p. 4. & 5.
aſſerts the Scots to
be Caledonians.

he

he be an *Irish* King: for what had an *Irish* King to do with an Army in the midst of *Scotland*, and against the *Romans*, with whom no *Irish* King ever fought? And that he was no *Briton*, is clear from the speech he made to his Souldiers, telling them that they had never been conquered, *servitutis expertes*, & *nullæ ultra terræ*. Nor can any thing agree better, with our being still called one of the two unconquered Nations, by *Gildas*, *Beda*, and others. This is yet farther cleared by another passage in this same life of *Agricola*: wherein * *Tacitus* says, *The third year of the War discovered new Nations, which Agricola conquered, even to the River Tay*. And after this he adds, *Agricola having beat Galgacus near to the Grampian Hills, brought back the Roman Army to the Borders of the Horesti; and having received Hostages from them, he ordered the Commander of the Roman Fleet to sail about the Isle*. From which I deduce, first, that *Galgacus* was no *Briton*: For *Tacitus* says, that *the third year opened new Nations*: whereas *Agricola* knew the *Britons* be-

* Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 22. Tertius expeditionis annus novas gentes aperuit: vastatis usque ad Tatum (æstuaris nomen est) nationibus Agricola in fines Horestorum exercitum deducit: ibi acceptis obsidibus præfecto Classis circumvehi Britanniam præcepit, &c.

before; and these must have been the Scots and Picts. For they could not be any other, being beyond the River *Tay*. And *Galgacus* could be no Pictish King, for we have a Manuscript, bearing all the names of the Pictish Kings. 2. From this passage it is clear that *Cambden* does err grossly, in making the *Horesti* to be a people in *Eskdale*; which is a Scottish Countrey on the Borders of *England*: For (beside that all Authors agree, that they are known to be the Inhabitants of *Angus*, and *Mernes*) it is here demonstrated by *Tacitus*, that after the *Romans* past *Forth*, they came to *Tay*, (which is known to be the March of *Angus*) and from thence they marched to the *Grampian Hills*, where they fought with *Galgacus*; and from which he returned to the Borders of the *Horesti*, where finding the Fleet in the *Frith* of *Tay*, where he had left it, he imbarqu'd the Hostages, and sent the Fleet back to that part of *Britain* whence they came. And how could all this be in *Eskdale*? That being very remote from the place of Battel, and *Eskdale* an inland

land Countrey, very remote from all Sea. 3. *Tacitus* writing of us, under the name of *Caledonians*, mentions the Marishes of those who fought, which were appropriated to us by *Enmenius* and *Pacatius*, as I formerly observed. By all which we may observe, how little *English* Writers are to be credited, when they write upon design to lessen our Countrey, or magnifie their own. And all this is confirmed by the learned * *Ferrarius* a stranger. And to this I may add, that we have to this day a Barony, called *Galdgirth*, or the *Girth* of *Galdus*; and ten great Stones in *Galloway*, called King *Galdus* monument: marks of antiquity far preferable to any manuscript; as the Testimony or consent of a whole Nation, is to that of one private person. Two of which arguments are used by *Chambers*, in the Life of *Galdus*: and he had seen *Verimund*, and our old manuscripts: and should he not then be our King *Galdus*, who reigned at that time, and who (as all our Histories relate) fought against the *Romans*, in this place, which was within the *Scotish* Territories? The

* *Lex Geograph.*
verb. *Horrestii*.

The third citation shall be from
Seneca; and is clear testimony for
 us in the Judgment of the great

* *Scaliger*.

*Ille Britannos ultra noti littora
 ponti,*

Et cæruleos Scoto-Brigantes dare

Romuleis,

Colla catenis jussit, & ipsum nova

Romanæ,

jura securis tremere oceanum.

* *Scalig. ad lib. 4.
 Tibul. ad Messal.
 And in his notes on
 Eusebius ad annum
 MMLX, Where
 there is a most learn-
 ed and full proof
 of our Antiquity,
 too long to be insert
 here, and too learn-
 ed to be answered
 by any adversary.*

* To which *Cambden* answers, * *V. Salmf. in Solin.*
 that for *Scoto-Brigantes*, we should
 reade *Scuta-Brigantes*. But this is
 very ridiculous; for we reade, that
 the *Picti* were called *Picti*, for pain-
 ting their bodies; but never for pain-
 ting their Shields. I know likewise
 that *Hadrianus Junius* reads *Cute-
 Brigantes*; but this would be ill
 verie: for the first syllable in *Cute*, is
 by its own nature, short: but ac-
 cording to this reading it would be
 long. I might to this add that an-
 swer made by *Florus*, the Poët, to
Adrian in *Spart*.

*Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
 Ambulare per Britannos,
 Scoticas pati pruinas.*

G

For

For why should we read *Schythicas*? since *Adrian* was never in *Schythia*; but did fight against the *Scots*: and caus'd make the *vallum Adriani*.

2. Why should not rather *Scotia*, than *Schythia* be joyned to *Britannia*? as * *Usher* argues most justly upon the like occasion. 3. The *Pruinæ Scotticæ* were famous about that time; for *Claudian* hath,

* cap. 16. p. 728.

* *Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis.*

And *Claudian* does so expressly and so frequently speak of the *Scots* as settled here, and describes them to be those people, who constantly fought against the *Romans*, with the *Picts*; that the citing him against us may convince the Reader, that our adversaries are not serious. Which will appear when I have cited, and illustrated him.

In his *panegyrick*, upon the third *Consulat* of *Honorius*, he complements him upon the victory of his Grand-father *Theodosius*, who behov'd to be come into *Britain* long before the year 382. wherein *Theodosius* his Father was chosen *Emperour*.

Facta

*Facta tui numerabat avi, quem lit-
tus adusti*

*Horrescit Libyi, ratibusq; imper-
via Thule.*

*Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomi-
ne Pictos,*

*Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone
secutus,*

*Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus
undas.*

And in the fourth *Consulat* of the
same *Honorius*.

*Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra
pruinis.*

—— *maduerunt Saxone fuso*

*Orcades, incaluit Pictorum san-
guine Thule.*

*Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis
Ierne.*

And *de bello Getico* he speaks of
the *Roman Legion* that returned from
fighting with the *Pitts* and us; (of
which * *Beda* makes express men-
tion.)

* *Bed. Eccl. hijt.*
L. i. cap. 12.

*Venit & extremis legio prætenta
Britannis,*

*Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferròq;
notatas*

*Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente
figuras.*

That all this is applicable to us, is clear, because, 1, We had war with the *Romans*, and the *Irish* had not. And all these verses in *Claudian* are spoke to magnifie the *Roman* Conquest. 2. Since we have proved, by other Authours, that the *Scots* were settled here, it is proper and suitable to common sense, to apply the same to us onely; and these Passages of *Claudian* are appropriated to the *British Scots*, and not to the *Irish*, by the great *English* Antiquary *Selden*, in his *Mare Clausum*, whose words, *lib. 2. cap. 8.* at the end are, *but yet it is to be conceived, that the Dominion of the Romans, was so limited in this Sea, according to their Possession of the Shoar, that they had little power in that part of the British Sea, which bordered upon the Shoars of those British Nations, who were not under their obedience: This is to be taken chiefly of the Irish Sea, and the rest that lies North west, for when the Roman Empire began to decline, not onely in Ireland, but the Isle of Man also; and the other Isles of the Western Sea, and a great portion of the more Northernly part of Britain,*

Britain, was possessed by the Scots and Picts; so that we have sufficient ground to conceive, that they also had an ancient Dominion of their own in the Neighbouring Sea.

From which I conclude, that the Scots in Selden's opinion, were settled here long before Claudian's time; for else they could not be said to have possessed the Northern part of Britain; and to have had before that time ancient Dominion over their own Seas. And who could understand this Controversie better than Selden, Scaliger, &c. And how agrees this with St. Asaph's making us to have been here onely by way of Incurfion, and not to have settled till about the Year 500, as being the onely persons concerned in those battels, and to the Isle, in which it is known that the same were fought.

3. Have the Irish made any mention of this War, in any of their Histories? and consequently, though Scotia had been a common name to Scotland and Ireland in those days: yet the circumstances of the Action, related by the Poet,

determine which of the two is here meant.

This is yet farther clear from the *Panegyrick* of *Sidonius Apollinaris*.

— *Victricia Cælar*

*Signa Caledonios transvexit ad-
usque Britannos.*

*Puderit & quamquam Scorum, &
cum Saxone Pictum.*

As to which, all that *Cambden* (much better acquainted with citing, than reasoning) can answer; is, 1. That the Poet here wrote a complement according to the vulgar opinion of his own times, which cannot be true, (as he says) because the Saxons were not then come to Britain. But he should have considered, that 1. If this was the opinion of *Sidonius's* age, who liv'd anno 480, * as *Gesner* affirms, which was very near to *Claudian's* time, who liv'd in 497, as † *St. Asaph* calculates: we must conclude, that is the rather to be believed; that then the *Scots* lived here, for that is not inconsistent with History, as the other is, and so should be believed, though the other be not. 2. There were *Saxons* living then in *Zetland* or *Orkney*, though

* *Gesner*. in verb.
Sidonius.

† P. 5.

though they were not settled in *Britain*, as is clear by *Claudian* himself, who says——

Maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades.

And whereas it is said that

——*Flevit glacialis Ferne*

does make the same applicable to *Ireland*, since *Ferna* is called *Ireland*. To that it is answered, that 1. It is clear that there is a Countrey in *Scotland*, called *Ferna*, near to which the *Romans* had a noble Camp, and whereof the Vestiges are very remarkable to this day, and in which there are Stones found with *Roman* Inscriptions, designing the Stations of the *Legions*. And certainly it is more proper to say, the loss was lamented in that Countrey, where the Battel was fought, than in that Kingdom, where the *Romans* never fought any. And why did the Poet joyn *Ferna* in the same lamentation with *Caledonia*? if he had not designed by it to express *Ferna*, as a part of our *Scotland*. And this is more proper, than to make the Poet join part of one to another different, and remote Kingdom. As also *Strathern* in *Scotland*, is in-

¶ L. i. cap. i.

deed a place, where the Frost is strong, and continues long, as being very near the Hills. But *Ireland* was known to be, and is yet a Countrey much freer from Storms, and Ice; and was believed by the Ancients to be so, as is most clear by * *Beda*. 2. Though the Poet had understood *Ireland* by *Ferne*; yet it does not follow, that because *Ireland* lamented the loss of the *Scots*, who were killed here; that therefore the *Scots* that were killed, were not the *Scots* that were planted in *Scotland*: since certainly *Ireland* could not but have lamented even the death of *Scots*, who were settled here; as *Scotland* and as the *Scots* here did lament very much, the death of the *Scots* who were killed in *Ireland* in the late Massacre. And as the Bishop himself argues in the case of the *Panegyrick* above-cited, I may far more justly argue here, that this sense agrees better with the Poet's noble flight, who makes the loss, that the *Scots* sustained, to be so great, that it was lamented even in *Ireland*. And these Verses in the same Authour, design'd

design'd likewise to the praise of the
same *Theodosius*

————— Pictos

*Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone
secutus,
Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus
undas.*

are onely applicable to the *Scotish Colony* settl'd in *Scotland*. For he magnifies *Theodosius*, Grand-father to *Honorius*, for having pursued so far his victory, that he beat the Northern Seas with his bold Oars. Now, beside all the other Arguments formerly us'd, can it be said, that *Theodosius's* Souldiers ever went to *Ireland*? that *Ireland* lyes North-west from *Clyde*, or *Severus-Wall*? whereas it is certain they were in *Scotland*, and it is very probable that they would follow the *Scotish Colony* into the North-west Isles, or over *Clyde*, where its formerly prov'd the *Scotish Plantation* first settl'd.

The third Testimony, shall be that of * *Hegesippus*, where he brings in *Ben-gorion* dissuading

• Lib. i. cap. i.
Hegesippus de
excidio Hieros, l. 5.
cap. 15.

Quid vobis cum vicioribus universa terra? quibus secreta Oceani, & extrema Indue parent. Quid attexam Britannias interfuso mari toto orbe divisas, & a Romanis in orbem terrarum redactas. Tremis hos Scotia quæ terris nihil debet.

the

the Jews, to fight against the Romans, the Conquerours of all the Earth, whom the unsearched places of the Ocean, and the farthest places of India obey. What shall I say of the Isles of Britain divided from the rest of the World, by Sea, and reduc'd by the Romans to be a part of the World; who makes Scotland to tremble, which owes nothing to any part of the Earth? To which Camden answers, that this must be interpreted of Ireland, because the words, *Quæ terris nihil debet*, must be interpreted, as if the Scotia here spoke of, were joyn'd to no other place; and that is onely applicable to Ireland, and not to Scotland. But what a hard shift is he here driven to: for none can interpret, *Quæ terris nihil debet*, in that sense, there being nothing more different, than these two expressions, *Which is not joyn'd to the other parts of the Earth*, as Camden would interpret it; and *which owes nothing to any part of the Earth*, as the Authour expresses it. There is nothing more ordinary, than for one, who thinks he depends not upon another, to say, *I owe you nothing*.
And

And certainly it agrees much more with the Authour's intention, to interpret these words so, *Scotland, which ow'd homage to no place, does tremble at the Roman Arms.* 2. It cannot be said, that ever the *Romans* did attack *Ireland*. And to clear this beyond answer, in the same harangue, cited out of *Ben-gorion* himself by *Usher*, * *Ben-gorion* says to the *Jews*, * P. 726, & 727. that when the General of the Nations onely came, these Nations resisted them; but when the Roman Emperours themselves came, they submitted to them. And I desire to know, if ever *Ireland* was invaded by the *Romans*. So that what is said in the harangue, is not applicable to the *Scotia Hibernica*, as they pretend; but to that Countrey, wherein we now live. As also, by the same *Ben-gorion*, it is clear, that *Nero* being discourag'd upon the rebellion of the *Jews*, and *Vespasian* coming to him, comforted him, by remembering him, that some of his Captains had conquer'd all the Western World, France, Scotland, and the Land of Tubal. And whereas, *Usher*, to lessen this Authority, is forc'd to alledge, that *Hegesippus* Works were

Ad quos cum venisset dum emeritus Romani, opposuerunt se illi, nec voluerunt ei subditi esse: Cum autem Reges Romanorum venerunt, subegerunt eos ut servarent ipsis.

scuri-

* Vid. cap. 27. 1. 4.
Euseb. Eccl. Hist.

spurious : this contradicts * *Eusebius*, who makes him to have liv'd, *Anno Christi* 160. And though *Usher* contends, that both these Authours must be late, because *Hegefippus*, who onely cites *Ben-gorion*, names *Constantinople*, which chang'd not the name of *Bizantium* till about the beginning of the 4th Century. But the Answer is easie, viz. that this being a Translation from the *Greek*, the *Translatour* has us'd the name, that was best known in his own time. And the *English*, and other Nations have acknowledg'd this to be the work of *Hegefippus*, and translate it as such. *Usher* himself indeed is inclin'd to think, that this was the work of *St. Ambrose* : but even that is sufficient for us, for not onely is *St. Ambrose* himself older than the 503 year, and so proves that our Countrey was before that time called *Scotland*, but *St. Ambrose* relating this Speech made in *Vespasian's* time, must prove, that this Countrey was call'd *Scotland*, in *Vespasian's* time, who was elected *Emperour* 72 years after *Christ*.

* *Tertullian*.

* *Tertullian*, who died in the year 202, and so must have written
some

some time before that, and could not have written of us as *Christians*, and a Nation ; if we had not been so, for a considerable time : for Informations did spread slowly in that age, when there was so little Commerce, and at so great a distance. This great *Dr.* of the *Primitive Church*, writing against the *Jews*, who he knew would examine the truth of the matter of fact alledg'd against them, says

* for the honour of the *Christian Religion*, which he was defending, that *those Inhabitants of Britain, which could not be subdued by the Romans, yet willingly yielded to the yolk of Christ.*

From which it is urg'd, that in *Tertullian's* time, there were Nations in *Britain*, which had never submitted to the *Roman* yolk, but yet submitted to the yolk of *Christ*. But so it is, that could not be meant of the *Britons*, for all the World knows, and the Bishop confesses, that long before that time, they had submitted to the *Romans*. And therefore it is clear, that there were other Nations in the Isle, and that could not be true, except the *Scots*, as well as the *Picts*, had been settled in the Isle, at that time. For a

vagrant

* *Tertul. l. advers. Judeos, cap. 7.*
Et Britannorum Romanis inaccessa loca, Christo vero subdita, which Baronius applies to us, Tom. 5. p. 537.
St. Asaph, Pref. p. 8.

vagrant company of Robbers, could not be call'd a Nation : and this Authour writes of *British* Nations : we must therefore have been a Nation, as the rest were, and therefore, since they were settl'd, so must we have been. Nor can this be meant of the *North*, and *South Picts*, though it were prov'd, that the *Picts* were distinguish'd into *Northern*, and *Southern*. For these could no more be consider'd as different people, than the *Northern* and *Southern English* can now be said to be different Nations. 2. That sense was not so much for the honour and extent of the *Christian Religion* : and the *Jews* might have lookt upon *Tertullian* as a *Jugler*, for making one Nation appear two. 3. Our sense agrees better with *Beda*, who asserts positively, that from *Reuda's* time, the *Scots* made a third Nation, in the Isle of *Britain*, with the *Britons* and *Picts*.

* Ammianus l. 20.
Consulatu vero
Constantii decies
terque Juliani in
Britannia cum
Scotorum Pictorumque

* *Ammianus Marcellinus*; who wrote about the year 360, tells us, that the *Scots* and *Picts* harassed the
que Gentium ferarum excursu rupta quiete condita loca limitibus vicine vastarentur, & implicaret formido provincias præteritarum cladum congerie scissas.

Countrey

Countrey. But the Bishop unjustly adds, that then they first harass'd it. But this cannot be, for *Ammianus* speaks of their fear, as occasion'd by a tract of bygon defeats; and this he elegantly expresses by the words, *congerie præteritarum Cladium*; which shews, that these he speaks of in the 360. Were not the first of many overthrows, that the *Britons* had got from the *Scots* and *Picts*: and so our being here must be much antienter than the 360. And our having fixt, and known limits, demonstrates to all, who understand the *Roman* Antiquities, that we were then a fixt and settl'd Nation, in the same Island with the *Roman* Provinces of the *Britons*; the Sea, or any part of it, being never signified, by their word *Limes*.

* St. *Jerome*, in his Epistle to *Jovian*, * Lib. 2. ad Jovian an. cites *Porphyry*, who liv'd in the third Century, under *Dioclesian*, and so above 200 years before the 503. His words are, *neither Britain a Province fertile of Tyrants, and the Scottish Nation, and all the Barbarous Nations, dwelling around the Ocean, knew Moses, and the Prophets.* By the

* Cap. 16. p. 728.
de Primat.

the *Scotish Nations*, * *Usher* understands not the *Schythians*, but the *Scots*, because they are in this place joyn'd to *Britain*: but though both he and the Bishop of *St. Asaph* would apply this citation to *Ireland*, yet this Gloss is most absurd; for by the former argument, the word *Scots* should be apply'd to us, for we are joyn'd to *Britain*, but *Ireland* is no more joyn'd to *Britain*, than *Schythia*: and the same *Jerome*, in next citation, calls the *Scots* a Nation of *Britain*, where he says,

* Quid loquar de
cæteris nationibus,
cum ipse adoles-
centulus in Gallia
Scotos Gentem Bri-
tannicam humanis
vesci carnibus vidi.
l. 2. ad Jov.

* Pref. l. in Iren.

* Tom. 5. p. 537.

* That when he was young, he saw the *Scots* a Nation of *Britain* feed upon *mans flesh*. From which it is clear, that the *Scots*, at that time dwelt in *Britain*, which agrees very well with *Beda*; who calls the *Scots* the third *Britannick Nation*. And this is farther clear'd, by his asserting, that *Pelagius* was of a *Scotish Race*: in the Neighbour-head of *Britain*; which proves clearly, as the learn'd * *Baronius* observes, that there were *Scots* then in *Britain*, who were *Christians*, else how could they have been *Pelagians*. Nor can this eating *Mans flesh*, be thought any just re-
flexion

flexion on the Nation; for certainly these have been some Rogues, who have fled out of the Nation, because they knew they would have been punish'd for this Crime. Nor can their eating Man's Flesh in *France* be charg'd on us, but on the *French*, where this is said to be so publickly done, that *St. Jerom* could have seen it; and there is no Historian that ever charg'd this on our Nation, nor any part of the Isle, even in our most barbarous times. And if it had been any ways common, there would have been a Law made against it: and *Boethius* relates, that there was one mean man guilty of it, who was thereupon executed exemplarily. And in what Nation are there not some Monsters?

Another of the *Reverend *Fathers* of the *Primitive Church*, enumerating the Nations, which were descended from *Japhet*; mentions the *Britons* and *Scots*, whose Isle is *Britain*. This shews, that there were *Scots* living in *Britain*, in *Epiphanius's* time, and so he proves not onely our antiquity, by his own Au-

H

thority

* *Epiphanius in
anchurato.*

p. 117. ad par
*Britanni, Scoti,
quorum insula est
Britannia.*

thority; but confirms, and explains what was formerly urg'd from *Jerome*, in whose time he liv'd, and to whom he wrote Letters.

† *Receptam partem insulæ à cæteris insularibus gentibus vallo distinguendam putavit*

† *Orosius*, who in *Anno 417*. Says, that *Severus* thought fit to secure that part of the Isle which he had, by a Wall from the other unconquer'd Nations. And that *We* and the *Picts* were these unconquer'd Nations, appears from

* *Cap. 5. and 12.*

* *Beda*, wherein he describes those very Actions, in those very Words. And all these Authors agreeing with *Beda*, and writing of the Times wherein themselves liv'd, are sufficient Testimonies, according to the *Bishop's* own strictest rules. And they clear, how unjust the *Bishop* is in lessening *Beda's* Testimony, when it makes for us: by saying, he spoke then according to the times wherein these Actions happen'd: for we see, that they who wrote, and liv'd in the time of those Actions, agree fully with him, as they speak clearly for us.

SECT. 6.
Proofs from
Reason.

Having thus clear'd the Antiquity of our Kings and Nation from
the

the Historians both within and without the Isle. I now proceed to clear these from the Principles of sound Reason: As to which, let us consider, That it being acknowledged by *Usher*, and the Authors he cites, that *Ireland* was peopl'd by the *Scots*, before *Julius Cæsar's* time, and by their own Authors, whom that *Bishop* cites, they are said to have been so anciently there, that we do not know, how many Ages they possess'd that Isle, before *Julius Cæsar*. And they being a very broody People, as all Northern Nations, and particularly they, and we are; could not but have multiply'd so exceedingly as to need relief, and evacuation by Colonies. And it can never be pretended, that the *Irish* did settle any other Colony, save in *Britain*: though it be undeniable, that all those Northern Nations were very desirous, and concern'd to extend, by Colonies, the Empire of their whole Nation, and thereby the Possession and Property of every particular man in it. Nor do we ever read, that the *Irish* had any Wars with Strangers,

whereby they might have either wanted men to send into Foreign Colonies, or have been forc'd to keep them at home, for their own defence. Whether then are our Histories more probable, which make this Colony to have come over before *Julius Cæsar*; or the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph's* account, who makes us not to have settl'd here, till 503 years after Christ? And though I esteem the *Irish*, yet I must remark, that our humour differs so much from theirs, that it may from thence appear, that we stay'd not long amongst them, and that we came from thence very early.

2. By all the tract of the *Roman* Histories, as well as by *Beda's*, *Gildas's*, and ours, it is clear, that the *Scots* and *Picts* fought jointly against the *Romans* in this Countrey, which we now possess: That the Walls built by *Adrian*, and *Severus*, were built here, to defend against them: That Complaints were made to the *Romans* by the *Britons* of them, and that Succours were crav'd against them: That the *Saxons* were call'd in, to defend the
Britons

Britons, from the *Scotish* and *Pictish* Incurfions: That they were call'd jointly, *unconquer'd Nations*. All which points prove, that they were equal in every thing, and why not then in their being equally fettl'd here? And therefore, except it were clearly prov'd, that the *Scots* were not fettl'd and fix'd here, as the *Picts* were; and that there were Authors produc'd, who living in thefe times, declar'd, that in the year 503. the *Scots* were firft call'd to defend the *Picts*, as the *Saxons* are clearly prov'd to have been call'd in, againft the *Scots*, and *Picts*, in the year 449. very near to the year 503. which is faid by the *Bifhop* to be our entry: It muft be neceffarily concluded, that the *Scots* were here at the time wherein all thefe things are told of them joyntly, with the *Picts*.

The third Argument fhall be, that it's undeniable, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were fuch conftant and formidable enemies, that the *Romans*, and *Britons*, who then poffeff the Southern part of this Ifle, were forc'd to build two Fences againft them: The firft berwixt *Tyne* and *Solway*,

which was call'd *Adrian's Wall*: And the second, by *Severus*, who having enlarg'd the *Roman Conquest*, built a second betwixt *Forth* and *Clyde*; and call'd it by his own name. How then can it be imagin'd, that the *Scots* did not live on the other side of that Wall? for if they had liv'd in *Ireland*, the Wall had not been necessary, or usefull against them. This common sense would declare to a Stranger, upon first reading the Story; and much more ought it to be believ'd, if we consider, that if the *Scots* came from *Ireland*, in *Corrourghs*, as the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* alledges, from *Gildas*: then they might have landed upon the *Britons* side of the Wall, nay and which is more, they could not conveniently have landed on the other side, except they had gone too far about, and cross'd a very broad and dangerous Sea.

3. Though people come once, or twice, from a Foreign Nation, by Sea, to rob and pillage, yet it is against sense to think, that for many hundreds of years, the *Irish* would have come over, to make War against

gainst such powerfull enemies, and return once a year. And it appears clearly, that this was a constant War, from before *Julius Cæsar's* time, for above 600 years: and in those ages, it is known, that there were not very convenient means fall'n upon, for transporting men, much less Armies; they having onely *Corrougks*, as the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* himself acknowledges: And these are a miserable little kind of shapeless Boats, made of Leather, streatcht upon Timber, as we find them, and the *Irish* Sea, describ'd by * *Solinus*, who liv'd near these times, and writes, that *Mare, quod Juvernæ & Britanniam interfluit, undosum & inquietum toto in anno, nisi æstivis pauculis diebus, est navigabile: navigant autem viminiis alviis, quos circumdant ambitu tergorum bubulorum.* And how these could transport an army every year to fight against such powerfull enemies, as the *Romans* and *Brittons*; and how they could carry back in them the great booty worthy to be fought for, especially over such broken seas, that are yet

terrible in the best season, to the best of our Boats, and the stoutest of Sea-men, is left to be considered by men judicious, or disinterested in any measure: especially, seeing they behov'd to return in the Winter time; for it's presum'd, they fought all Summer: And even then, they had not the choos'ing of their own fair weather; but had just reason to be afraid, that they would be chas'd away, as Robbers usually are; and as the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* asserts, they often times were. But as all this is absurd, and incredible, according to the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*'s hypothesis; so it is most consistent with ours; in which we assert, that the *Scots* settl'd on the other side of *Clyde*, from which they might come every year; which agrees also well with *Beda*'s saying, that the *Scots* settl'd, *ad partem septentrionalem sinus Acluth*, or *Dumbrion*; a narrow Sea, and call'd one part of the *Mare Scoticum* by the *English* Authors, and particularly by † *Holinshed*, * *Major*, and || *Polidor*; and was so design'd in the forms of holding Circuits, as is clear by the 4. Chap.

of

† Pag. 10. desc.
Brit.

* In initio.

|| Pag. 6.

of the Laws of King *Malcom* 2. and by 5th. Act P. 3. *J.* 2^d. And since in the said Laws of *Malcom* 2. who reign'd, *Anno* 1004. The Frith of *Forth* is call'd *Mare Scotiæ*, the *Sea of Scotland*, and that is mention'd as a Law in old observance, it must be concluded, that this Countrey, where we live, was call'd *Scotland*, long before the year 1000. as *B. Usher* asserts. For since *Tacitus* and *Beda* say, that we were inclos'd by that Sea, and the Wall, as in an Isle ; it seems that this was call'd the Sea of *Scotland* then, it being our March at that time. Nor are these Friths improperly call'd seas, being 40. miles broad in some places ; and this also agrees with our being *trans-marini*, or on the other side of the sea, (which are the words used in the said Statute) but not out of the Isle ; and it is strange, that the *Visigoths* should have settl'd in *France* and *Spain* ; The *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, shortly after they had made their inroads ; and yet we should have return'd yearly, for above 600. years, notwithstanding of the former difficulty.

4^{ly}. The *Scots*, coming over to this Isle, could not but know, that the southern parts of it were very rich, and the People there very cowardly, even to admiration; as the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* himself relates, from all their Historians: and there was place enough for a Colony of them in this Isle, or else how could they have planted themselves after, when the *Picts* became more numerous? and both the *Scots*, and the *Picts* had good reason to expect every year new additions of Land: and it is probable, that our Ancestors, being a Colony of a more southern Nation, strangers in *Ireland*, and but lately settl'd there, left their confinement in the *Irish* Isle, as soon as they could, to enlarge their victories, and possessions in this larger; and which afforded greater Glory. How then can it be imagin'd, that they would not have settl'd a Colony here, which was far less dangerous, and more noble, and advantageous? than to be constantly robbing for small booty, to the danger of their lives. But that they fought for land, and not for
booty,

booty, is very clear, not onely from the practice of others, but from *Sabellicus*, * *gliscere indies id malum* * *Æneid. L. 9.*
augebatur duarum gentium audaciâ : C. 1.
apparebátque brevi totam insulam alienatam iri, nisi ejusmodi conatibus maturè iretur obviam.

5. How is it imaginable, that the *Picts* (finding themselves in so great danger, from the *Romans*, and *Britons*, the one very considerable for their valour, and the other for their great numbers,) would not have intreated the *Scots* to stay constantly with them? for though they had been equal to their enemies, when the *Scots*, and they were together; yet they could not be but much inferior to them, when the *Scots* left them once every year.

6. If the *Irish* had constantly sent in auxiliaries to assist against the *Romans*; it is not to be believ'd, but the *Romans* would have resented this injury against the Kingdom of *Ireland*: which they never did, except once, * when the *Irish* gave * *Buchan.*
 the *Scots* supplies, endeavouring to p. 118.
 re-establish themselves after the expulsion of *Eugenius*. And if this
 War

War had been carry'd on by the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and not by the *Scots* in *Scotland*; we had certainly heard, that the Kings of *Ireland* had been mention'd both in the *Roman*, *English*, and our *Histories*: for it is not to be imagin'd, that so long, and so great Wars could have been carry'd on by the Subjects, without the consent of the King and Kingdom.

7. If they never had been call'd in by the *Picts*, to stay as a Colony, till the *Saxons* had beat the *Britons*, who had lately call'd them in to their Assistance: how is it imaginable to think, that the *Picts* would have call'd them in as Auxiliaries at that time? having so lately seen, how dangerous Auxiliaries might prove; especially considering, that the *Scots* had been us'd many hundred years to robbing, as the *Bishop of St. Asaph* would have us believe, and that they were a part of a numerous near Nation, from whom they might expect suddenly great Supply: or that they would have not onely run this risque, but have divided with them their little

little Countrey, and yet not have employ'd their Assistance, for the ends, for which they call'd them in. For the Bishop * tells us that * Pag. 17. the Scots did nothing, for 100 years after they were call'd in.

8. It cannot be deny'd, but that about the year 792, † there was a League entred into betwixt *Charles the Great*, call'd *Charle-Maigne*, King of *France*, and Emperour of the West, and *Achaius* King of *Scotland*, call'd by all the *French Historians* the famous *Alliance*. In which the King of *Scotland* did send over 4000 Men to the Assistance of *Charles the Great*; and this is testified by * *Aequinardus* who wrote the History of these Times, and was † *Secretary* to *Charles the Great*; and who is cited by *Usher*, at which time the King of *Scotland* sent over very many famous Learn'd Men, who founded the incomparable *Univerfity of Paris*. All which is clear by † *Favin* in his

† Chambers particularly, p. 9. & 96. also from p. 229. to the end of the Treatise.

* *Scotorum quoque reges sic habuit ad suam voluntatem, per suam munificentiam inclinatos ut eum nunquam alter quam dominum pronuntiarent: extant epistole ab iis ad eum missis quibus lausmodi effectus eorum erga illum iudicatur. Aequinardus Caroli magni ad annum 791.*

† Lib. 5. pag. 80. *Aequinard. Secretary to Charle-maigne* maketh a denunciation of strange Princes, who imbrace'd the amity of that puissant Monarch. The Emperours of *Constantinople*, *Persia*, the Kings of *India* and *Gallicia*, with the Kings of *Scotland*. † *Favin* l. 5. p. 8. The Scots joyful of this Alliance, as the most famous in Christendom, delegated for their Ambassadors, *William* Brother to their King *Achaius*, assisted with the counsel of four Persons, renown'd for Learning, *Clement*, *Ioanner*, *Rabanus*, and *Alcuinus*, with 4000 Men of War sent to the succour of *Charle Maigne*. The two worthy Doctors, who staid with *Charle Maigne* at *Paris*, and *Padus*, were *John* surnamed *Scotus*, a *Scottish* man, both Nation and Surname, and *Claudian* *Clement*.

Theatre

* *Paulus Æmiliius in vita Caroli magni. Ceterum ut paulatim extingueret Saxonum nomen, honores magistratûsque gentibus alienigenis in primis Scotis mandabat, quorum egregia fide virtutisque utebatur.*

† Pag. 34, & 38.

Theatre of Honour, and * *Paulus Æmiliius* in that King's Life. From which I raise three Arguments, First, How can it be imagin'd, that if the *Scots* had not settl'd in a Colony, till the 503, that their King could have been so famous, that in about 280 years time, this small Colony, which the *Bishop of St. Asaph* represents to have been but *pilfering barbarous Robbers*, would have become so famous, that *Charles the Great* then Emperour of all the Western World, would have entred in a league with them? especially since they had not for 100 years after their settlement done any memorable Action, † as the *Bishop of St. Asaph* alledges. 2. If our Kings and Nation had onely then *Dalrieda*, or the Kingdom of *Argile*, as the *Bishop* contends; How could this Prince of *Argile* (which is, after all improvement but an Earldom) have been worthy, not onely of the Alliance of the great Emperour of the West; but to send 4000 men? especially having such dangerous Enemies at Home, and being himself but a Stranger newly entred into a Foreign

Foreign Island, and living in a small part of the Isle, with the *Picts* the more powerfull and ancient possessors. And that there were 4000. men sent by virtue of that League, is clear, not onely from *Verimundus*, out of whose 2d. Book *Chambers* cites the whole League : but by *Sansavin* an *Italian*, who writes the History of the *Douglassij*, or *Scoti*, whom he derives from *William Douglass*, who was Lieutenant at that time to Prince *William*, Brother to *Achaius*. And which *Sansavin* cites another, viz. *Umberto Locato*, more ancient than himself. And this is so far acknowledged by the *French Kings*, that upon it, we got very great privileges in *France*, and all the *Heralds* in *Europe* acknowledge, that the double *Tressure*, was the Badge of that alliance.

9. How can it be conceiv'd, that the *Scots* could in so short a time, after their settlement, have been able without any help, to extirpate the *Picts*, who must be presum'd to have been very strong, having been so long settl'd in this Isle; and having possess'd in effect all that we have now,
benorth

benorth *Forth*, except the Shire of *Argile*, if we believe the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*.

* *Leff.* pag. 80.
Buchan. pag. 97.

* *Leff.* pag. 188.
Buchan. pag. 190.

Our Tradition is fortified, and the former Authorities cited by us, are clear'd, from the receiv'd Laws of our Nation; for first all our Histories bear * that *after King Fergus death, the Nobility finding his Son too young, and the Wars in which they were engaged very dangerous; they declared, that the Uncle should govern.* And which custome continu'd, till it occasion'd many bloody civil Wars, betwixt the *Uncles* and *Nephews*: and therefore * was justly abrogated by a Parliament holden by *Kenneth* the third, which *Kenneth* the 3^d. reign'd Anno 970. And it were very ridiculous to think, that since these matters of fact are true, viz. That there were bloody civil Wars, betwixt the *Uncles* and the *Nephews*, and that all this hath been much debated in posteriour Parliaments, betwixt such as were for the Crown, and such as were for popular Elections; without ever controverting the truth of the matter of fact; and long before
 we

we could have any apprehension of such a debate as this, and so that all this was a meer fiction, calculated for maintaining an antiquity, which was never controverted.

It can as little be deny'd, that there were Laws relating to the *merchetæ mulierum*: since many of our old Charters relate to them, and discharges of them are incorporated in our Charters; and which Styles are a part of our old and traditional Law: these *merchetæ mulierum* were thereafter abrogated by King *Malcolm Canmor's* Law, many hundred years before the starting of this debate: And that there were such Laws, is also acknowledged not onely by *Baker*, and others within the Isle, but even by *Solinus* and *Jerome*, &c. * And that these Laws were made by *Evenus* 3d. who liv'd 12 years before *Christ*, is a part of the same Tradition; and so cannot but be believ'd since Laws are one of the probablest means imaginable, for preserving Tradition. By the Laws likewise of *Malcolm* the 2d. who reign'd in

I the

* L. 2. Ad Frivini-
anum who seems
to point at this,
when he says, that
*Scoti nullis propri-
as habent uxores.*

* *Solin. cap. 25.
de Britannia*

the year 1004. The Frith of *Forth* is call'd *Mare Scotiæ*, or the Sea of *Scotland*, which demonstrates, that before the year 1000. our Countrey was call'd *Scotia* or *Scotland*: and confirms and clears, all that is said out of *Beda*; and as this designation of the *Scotish* Sea, is look'd upon there, as a thing very old and acknowledg'd; so it is continu'd in our Laws for many ages, as is evident by *K. J. 2d.* his Laws above cited.

I had resolv'd not to mention the *Bishop's* objections, against our early conversion: but I find it so clear, that we were converted to the *Christian Faith*, before the year 503. that there results this concluding Argument from it, to prove that we were settl'd before that time. For if we were a *Christian* Nation converted here, before that time, it follows necessarily, that we were a Nation settl'd here, before that time: since a Nation is said no where to be converted, but where it is settl'd, albeit some persons of that Nation may be said to be converted abroad. And that this part of
the

the Isle, which we now inhabite, and that people from which we are descended, were Christians before that time; seems to me very evident, from the former testimony of *Tertullian*, who wrote in the end of the second Century, to which I refer my Reader; And though *Tertullian* liv'd a little before King *Donald*, yet the answer is apparent, *viz.* that the Nations were ordinarily converted before the Kings or Magistrates: And it's indeed very probable that the *Christians* who were persecuted in the Southern Nations, would flee from their persecutors the *Roman* Emperours: and where could they seek refuge so reasonably, as in that Countrey, and amongst that people, which had never submitted to the *Roman* Empire? And it being acknowledged by the learn'd *Z'zher*, and St. *Asaph*, that *Britain* was converted in the first Century; it is very reasonable to think that the *Christians*, who had fled to this Isle from the persecution of the *Romans*, would have very probably shelter'd themselves here, where the *Romans* had no power: for though it be not

prov'd, that the *Roman* persecution reach'd to *Britain* so early, yet certainly they who fled so far from the persecution, would not think themselves very secure within the Dominions of the persecutors, and would have secured themselves by a few more Miles from so dreaded a danger. As also, it seems very improbable, that since the *Christian* Religion spread from *Jerusalem* to *Britain* in less than 100 years, that it would have taken above 300 years more, to reach so few Miles, as are betwixt the *British* part of the Isle, and *Scotland*. It is also presumable that the *Druids* having been so prepared to receive *Christianity*, by their excellent principles of *Philosophy*, and their severity of life formerly mentioned, which did not contradict, but illuminate the *Christian Doctrine*, they would have both been easie to be converted themselves, and ready to have converted their former Disciples, and the people who admir'd them. I might here cite many Authours: but I fix upon

* *Beda*, who asserts positively, that *Palladius* was sent in the 8th year of *Theodosius*

* L. 3. chap. 13.

Theodosius Junior, that is to say, in the 431. *ad Scotos in Christum credentes*, by *Pope Cælestine*, as their first *Bishop*: and that *Beda* wrote of us, as the *Scots*, is formerly prov'd; and this *Mission of Palladius* falling in the tract and series of the actions ascrib'd by *Beda* to us onely, it is inconsistent with common reason, that the things before and after, and the things related in the very Chapter, should be onely applicable to us, and yet onely this should not: albeit our own and foreign Histories apply the same to us. As to foreign Histories, I shall onely cite *Baronius*, who, because he made *Ecclesiastick History* more his task, than *St. Asaph*, and was more disinterested, is therefore more to be believ'd as to this point.

This great *Antiquary* * tells, that the *Scots* who had first receiv'd the Christian Faith from *Pope Victor*, and the first *Bishop* from *Pope Cælestine*, were become the chief of all Christians, from being amongst the

* Tom 5 edit col p. 586. & 589. num. 5.

Qui igitur Evangelium primo à Victore Pontifice maximo accepere, & à Cælestino Papa primum Episcopum, à quo sunt omnes penitus red-uti

Christiani, eatenus *Christi* gratia profecere, qui olim gentilitio rati viverent, ob ferinos mores, ut portentum ostendit, erant humano generi præstantissimi evenerint *Christiani*, &c.

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Num. 4.

† Quia Victore
Romano Pontifice,
Scotos evangelium
accepisse, nosse
traditione scripsere,
haud sunt re-
futati.

* Usher p. 798. de
prim.

† Lib. 1. cap. 12.
Tusculani, &c. Lib.
4. cap. 16. Eccl.

most barbarous of all Nations; having formerly said, * that all consent that Palladius was their first Bishop: and for which he cites Prosper, as he does Tertullian, Jerome, Sedulius, and others, for our being Christians under Pope Victor, saying that † they are not to be refuted who assert our conversion under Pope Victor: but is most positive as to Palladius. And whereas it is * pretended that Prosper's words are not applicable to us, since he says, that Palladius made the barbarous Island Christian, and our Scotland is not an Island.

To this it is answer'd, that our part of Britain was by Tacitus, and Beda, said to be reduc'd into an Island, by the Roman Wall, from Sea to Sea: and † Beda in other places of his History calls us therefore Islanders. Baronius also applies this to us, and so this gloss is to be preferr'd, to that extravagant gloss or reading cited by the Bishop of St. Asaph, from the copy of the Manuscript of Nenius, *Missus est Palladius Episcopus, primitus à Cælestino ad Scotos in Christum convertendos*: for that not only differs from Beda, the far more learn'd

learn'd, ancient and credible Author: but it is improbable to say, that a *Bishop* was sent to those, which were to be converted: seeing conversion useth to be by *Presbyters*, and Missionars; and when the *Church* is gather'd, the *Bishop* is sent: and this gloss contradicts not onely common sense, but * *Ado Viennen*, * Stat. 6. and † *Marian*, who both use *Beda's* † Page 340. own words, *Ad Scotos in Christum credentes*: and what is said of the conversion of the *Scots* and *Picts* by *St. Ninian*, *Palladius*, and *Columba* to make our conversion to be later, than *Tertullian* made it, viz. in the 2d. Century, must be interpreted of our fuller and sounder conversion from *Paganism*, and *Pelagianism*; and of our being conform'd to the *Romish Church*, and *Rites*, which the Authors of these Times considered as the onely true conversion. But to make this our first conversion, were to contradict *Tertullian*, *Jerome*, and the learn'd *Baronius*, as well as all our Histories. The * *Magdeburgian Centuries* do * *Edin. Bist. 1524.* positively agree with *Baronius*, and † *2d. Cent. p. 5.* our History, in this our Antiquity:

and so having for us the greatest *Ecclesiastick Antiquaries*, both *Protestant* and *Papist*, we need not condescend upon particular Authors: these being the Standards of *Ecclesiastick History* to the Professors of both Religions: and it is strange after all this, that a Church-man should so positively contradict, what the Antiquaries of both Churches have so positively asserted, though if there had been any thing wherein they could have contradicted one another, they would certainly have differ'd.

That *Donald* then was our first *Christian King* in anno 203. and *Palladius* our first *Bishop* in anno 431. seems most fully prov'd: for these being matters of Fact may be prov'd by Witnesses; and who are better Witnesses, than the many Historians of the Countrey, where the things were transacted; especially since these were matters of great importance, and notoriety, which the Monasteries, whose faith is follow'd by our Historian, could not but know best of all others; and in which, they durst not cheat or forge, because the Annals of
other

other Churches would have contradicted them ; whereas they are confirm'd by them, and these things fell out, when we had the help of Letters, and are agreeable to the sound Reasons above-related : though the conversion of a Kingdom be a matter, that could not be unknown, and no other King but *Donald* was ever recorded to have been the first *Christian King* here.

That *Palladius* was sent to the *Scots* in *Britain*, and not to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, appears farther from these undeniable matters of Fact? viz, That *Pope Cælestine* did ordain, and send *Palladius*, in anno 431 : That the same *Pope Cælestine* sent *St. Patrick* to *Ireland* : That *St. Patrick's* Mission must have been before the 6th. of *April* 432, is also clear, because *Prosper* tells, that *Cælestine* died that year. And the *Roman Pontifical* tells, it was on the 6th. of *April* that year. From all which, the *Bishop* did see, that *Palladius's* mission must have been to the *Scots* in *Scotland*; else *Palladius* had been first *Bishop* of *Ireland*, and *St. Patrick* needed not have been sent into *Ireland*,

land, since *Palladius* was sent there, but the year before : To reconcile which real Contradictions *St. Asaph* makes up a laborious *Hypothesis*, and says that *Palladius* was indeed in *Ireland*, but finding he could not succeed, he was upon his return to *Rome*, but died in, or near the bounds of the *Picts*, the 15th of *December*, 431. So that *St. Patrick*, who liv'd in *Britain*, could not but have known his death, and had time enough to go to *Rome*, and be ordain'd *Bishop* for *Ireland*, and go to that *Kingdom*, and there finish their *Conversion*, which *Palladius* had onely begun : and so *St. Patrick* was call'd the first *Bishop*. All this *Hypothesis* is almost impossible, though good *Palladius* had sooner, and deeper despair'd, than a *Saint* should have done, especially in the *Conversion* of a whole Nation : and though both had posted faster for a *Benefice*, than *Holy-Church men* did in those primitive times. Yet all this is founded upon *Palladius's* having died the 15th of *December* 431. And the onely proof adduc'd for this by *St. Asaph*,
is

is *Baleus de* 14. *scrip.* 6. near the end, and yet in that same citation it is positively said, that *Palladius* was sent to *Scotland*; and the particular *Scotish King* is nam'd; and *Baleus* adds, that *Palladius claruit anno virginiei partus* 434; he flourished in the year 434. and so he died not in the 431, And not content with this *Baleus* goes on, telling that *post multos pios tandem sudores & religioſa exercitia in Fordono vico Meræ felicem hujus vitæ sortitus eſt exitum.* Which is in our *Scotland*, and in the North part thereof, very far out of the Road from *Ireland* to *Rome*; and where we have *St. Padies Church* and *Fair*; and with us he is nam'd our first *Bishop* to this day: but was never nam'd an *Irish Bishop*, untill *St. Aſaph* made him by a ſtrange word firſt, in *omination of ſucceſs*, as he ſays, though not he, but *St. Patrick* had this ſucceſs. If then he died not ſo ſoon, and if the time of his death is not prov'd, why might he not have Baptiz'd *Tarvanus*? And why ſhould our *Boethius* be *Hector'd* for ſaying that *Palladius* Baptiz'd *Tarvan*? Yet I impute not this

this to St. *Asaph's* mistake, or ignorance ; but it is an elaborate contrivance to divert all the unanswerable Authorities, proving that *Palladius* was sent to us in *Scotland*, in the year 431. and so before the year 503. in which St. *Asaph* says we settled first in *Britain*. I shall conclude this concerning *Palladius* with the suffrage of Dr. *Hammond*, a learn'd and *Episcopal English Divine*, * who in his *vindication of the dissertations concerning Episcopacy*, reconciling the seeming differences between *Beda*, who asserts, that *Palladius* was sent to the Scots believing in Christ : And *Prosper*, who speaking of the same Mission, says, that *Palladius* made also the Barbarous Island Christian ; lays down these three Conclusions, 1. That *Christianity* was planted in *Scotland*, before *Cælestine's* time, deriv'd to them most probably from their Neighbour *Britons* here, with whom they are known to have agreed in the keeping of *Easter*, contrary to the custome of the *Roman Church*, as * *Beda* says. 2. That this Plantation was very imperfect, differing little from *Barbarism*,

* P. 162.

* Lib. 3

rism, and so repute by *Prosper*, till the coming of *Bishop Palladius* among them. 3. That even after that, they retain'd the usage of *Easter*, contrary to the *Roman* custome, which still refers to some rude conversion of theirs before *Palladius*; and so it is evident, that in the learn'd *Doctor's* opinion, the *Scotland* to which *Palladius* was sent, was ours; and that we were *Christians* before his coming, though rude and barbarous. The *Bishop of St. Asaph* having thus Spirited from us, into *Ireland*, *Palladius* our first *Bishop*, he proceeds to translate *Amphibolus* our first Church-man upon record, unto a *Shag-Cloak*, designing likewise thereby, to prove, that *Boethius* our Historian is not to be credited, because he follow'd their fabulous *Jeffrey*: who finding that *St. Alban* had, to save his pious *Guest*, taken the holy Man's habit, to the end he might be Martyr'd for him; and as *Beda* expresses it, *Caracalla ejus indutus*, *Jeffrey* concludes, as *St. Asaph* alledges, that the Vestiment was *Amphibolus*; and *Jeffrey* having made the *Cloak* a Man, *Boethius* made him
a *Bishop*

a *Bishop* of the *Isle of Man* : and so *this Cloak* was fitly ordain'd to be a proper *Bishop* for that *Chapter* of the *Culdees* : But this is *ludere in sacris*, and to expose *Episcopacy* it self upon the Stage. In answer to which, I shall onely offer, these few thoughts, first, what interest had *Jeffrey* (who was a *Briton*) to oblige the *Scots*, or the *Isle of Man*, in making so horrid a lie? 2. It is against sense, to think that any man, much less a Scholar, could have been so gross, as to take a *Shag-Cloak* for a *Bishop*. 3. If the *Shag-Cloak* had been mistaken for the name of a man, he should have been call'd *Caracalla*, and not *Amphibolus* ; for the *Legend* being written in *Latin*, *Jeffrey* had certainly chosen the word, *Caracalla*, because that was the Latin word; and was the word used by *Beda*, and because there was a *Roman Emperour* truly of that name, before *Beda* and *Jeffrey's* time. 4. *Beda* relating to that passage tells us, that in the *Dio-clesian* Persecution, *St. Alban*, *Aron*, *Julius*, and many others suffer'd : And why might not *Amphibolus* be one of these many that suffer'd? And why

why ought *Boethius* to have been tax'd, for mentioning *Amphibolus*, since this was done long before him, by a multitude of *English* Writers, cited by *Bishop Usher*, who deriv'd his birth from *Greece*, and describes the particular actions of his life, and his Martyrdom; with which also the modern *English* Writers agree. as * *Baleus*, *Holinshed*, *Speed*, all which *English*, and thousands of other Testimonies do far weigh down *Usher's* conjectures, that *Amphibolus* was not a man, but a Vestiment, from the silence of *Gildas*, *Beda*, the *Martyrologies*, and *Breviaries* of *Salisbury*, and *Jeffrey* who do not mention him: for *Gildas* could not mention him, writing concerning the Conquest, and destruction of *Britain*; *Beda* tells the Passage relative to *St. Alban*, and albeit he names him not in the *Dioclesian Persecution*, yet he tells that many more suffer'd than the three he names. We have not seen the *Martyrologies*, and *Breviaries*, nor does it import whether they mention him or not; and it is not so much to be wondered at, that some

* Pag. 28, & 58.

some *English* Writers do not mention him, as that he is mention'd by so many ; seeing he was a *Greek* and a *Bishop* in the remote Isles of *Britain*, and in all likelihood would have been buried under silence, had it not been for that Passage with *St. Alban*.

My last Argument for confirming our History, shall be, that the best *Criticks*, *Historians* and *Antiquaries* of other Nations, who had occasion to mention our Histories, and particularly the great *Baronius*, *Scaliger*, *Salmasius*, *Lipsius*, *Carolus Sigonius*, *Favinus*, and others of the first Rank, (too many to be nam'd) have passionately defended our Antiquity, and not only sustain'd but prais'd our Histories: and so the Arguments and Grounds whereupon I have proceeded, are already asserted by the best Judges, and that too after *Luddus* publish'd his objections against the same, and almost the very same objections, which are now urg'd; and which are treated with great contempt by *Scaliger*. * Since then there is nothing now urg'd, that could have escaped

* Pag. in Eq.
feb.

escap'd the observation of these
 learn'd, and curious Authors, who
 could not but have discover'd, as
 soon as *St. Asaph*, that our Histori-
 ans did not mention any Warrants,
 which were written in the time, or
 did contradict the *Roman* History
 or one another : I admire why now
 these our Histories should be con-
 troverted. And though something
 might be pretended, if *St. Asaph* did
 in this Book, produce Manuscripts
 unknown to these learn'd *Critiques*,
 yet could they have been so blind
 and ignorant (especially in that
 subtle and laborious Age, wherein
 all men were by a noble emulation
 contending, who should discover
 most) as not to have seen defects?
 which if they had been real, they
 had been obvious. It is also very
 remarkable, that since all Nations
 are emulous of one another in mat-
 ters of Antiquity; yet they, by
 ceding to ours, have thereby ac-
 knowledg'd, that ours was beyond
 all debate; and to this day, none
 controvert it, (notwithstanding of
 all the pains taken by *Luddus*, *Camb-*
den, and *Usher*) farther than to
 K gratify

gratify their own Countrey. And therefore, as *Cicero* argues, that the *Romans* were the bravest, because every Nation commended them next to their own: I may contend, that we are the most ancient, because every Nation confesses us to be next to themselves in Antiquity. As some few instances, I shall only cite, *Saxo Gram. Swanningius, Albertus Krantzius*, who own our Name and Nation to have been before Christ, though after the *Danes*. *Mezeray* shortly after *Pharamond*: and *St. Asaph* himself who brings us in but 50 years after the *English*.

Since it is probable that the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*, and I will not agree well in the decision of this Debate; were it not just that we should both rest in the decision of learn'd Strangers, who understood Antiquities exactly, these being the subject matter of our Controversie, and where can we find more qualified Judges than those great Antiquaries whom I have named? But yet to shew how much I trust to the strength of that truth which I assert, I dare appeal to *Selden*, that Englishman, who was so affectio-

affectionate to his Countrey, and that Antiquary who understood best of all Mankind the Antiquities of his own Nation, and even to him also in his *Mare Clausum*, written or the Defence and Glory of his Countrey: who *lib. 2. cap. 8. Maris clausi*, has these words, speaking of those famous lines in *Claudian* to the praise of *Stilicho*,

*Inde Caledonio velata Britannia mon-
----Totam cum Scotus Iernam (Stro
Movit & infesto spumavit remige
Tethys.*

‘ As the *Palmes* and the River *Tagus*
‘ were peculiar to *Spain*, as the Ears
‘ of Corn and Ivory to *Africa*; so he
‘ would have it understood, that the
‘ Province of *Britain* had the Sea of
‘ the same name peculiar thereto. But
‘ yet it is to be conceiv’d, that the
‘ Dominion of the *Romans* was so li-
‘ mited in this Sea, according to their
‘ possession of the Shoar, that they had
‘ little power in that part of the *Brit-
‘ tish* Sea, which bordered upon the
‘ Shoar of those *British* Nations who
‘ were not under their obedience.
‘ This is to be taken chiefly of the *Irish*
‘ Sea, and the rest that lyes North-

‘ West ; for when the *Roman* Empire
 ‘ began to decline, not onely in *Ire-*
 ‘ *land*, but in the *Isle of Man* also, and
 ‘ the other Isles of the Western Sea,
 ‘ and a great portion of the more Nor-
 ‘ therly part of *Britain*, was possess’d
 ‘ by the *Scots* and *Picts*, so that we
 ‘ have sufficient ground to conceive,
 ‘ that they also had an ancient Domi-
 ‘ nion of their own in the neighbour-
 ing Sea.

From which Passage I argue thus,
 1. That *Selden* consider’d the *Scots*
 and *Picts* as Nations, not subject to
 the Romans, *Gentes iis* (viz. *Ro-*
manis) *minime subjacentes*, no manner
 of way subject to the Romans, and
 looks on us, as the most considerable
 of these two Nations, for the words
 run, *à Scotis tenebatur Pictisque* ;
 and very justly, for we were able
 to defend them while they were just
 to us, and to extirpate them when
 they became enemies. 2. This great
 Antiquary asserts that the *Scots*
 and *Picts* possess’d in *Stilicho’s* time,
 who was Guardian to *Honorius*,
 and so liv’d about *anno* 400. a
 great portion of the Northern part
 of *Britain*, as well as the *Isle of Man*
 and

and the rest of the Western Isles; and consequently if we *possess them then*, it cannot be said that we were onely here by way of incursion, till the year 500. or were confin'd to *Argile*, till after the year 500. as St. *Asaph* contends. 3. That we were not onely possess then, but that we had *avitum Dominium*, *ancient Dominion*, and had right *prisco jure*, and nothing is so inconsistent with the being Proprietars, as to be Robbers, coming onely by way of incursion, and if we had the Dominion of our Seas, *jure prisco*, and *per Dominium avitum*: And were ancient possessors before the year 400. We must have been not onely far older than the year 500. but have even been *prisci incolæ*, as *Beda* [l. i. c. i.] says, before the *Romans* entred this Isle, and so before CHRIST.

Selden also in the transition from that 2d. to the 3d. Chapter tells, after that he had spoke of the *Scots* Dominion of their own Sea, that he will treat of the succeeding Ages, and so proceeds to the *Saxons*, which demonstrates, that we were settled here before the *Saxons*, though St.

Asaph make their settlement here more ancient than ours. And in this *Beda* agrees with *Selden*, but both contradict *St. Asaph*. And lastly, this passage clears, that the testimonies not onely of *Claudian* concerning *Ierna*, but even of *Tertullian*, when speaking of the Inhabitants of *Britain* not conquer'd by the *Romans*, and of *Jerome* speaking of *Britannick* Nations, are onely applicable to us, and not to the *Irish*: And therefore I hope *St. Asaph* will not take it ill, if we in a matter of Antiquity prefer an impartial Antiquary, to an interested Divine, as I would not be offended, if the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* were prefer'd to me, in a Theological Controversie.

SECT. 7.
Answers to the
Bishop's Objections.

The first general Objection against our Histories, is, that they were not written by those, who liv'd in the time, but more than 1400 years after the things happened, of which they wrote. And it were strange, that if *Gildas*, who liv'd 500 years before the eldest of them, could find no sufficient instructions, save from Foreigners, that our Historians should have

have found sufficient warrands, for a History after so long a time.

To which my answer is, that our Histories giving onely an account of one Nation, it was easier to find the true and sincere Tradition as to us, than it was in other Nations where the Conquerors were not concern'd to preserve the Traditions and Records: and though I have made it very probable, that this Isle had the use of Letters before, or at least soon after we settl'd in it, and so might have preserv'd the Story. Yet albeit our History were onely founded on Tradition, untill about 600 years after *Christ*, before which the Monastery of *Jona* or *Icolm-kill* was founded, that Tradition might have been sufficiently preserv'd, for so few Generations, by the means and methods that I have formerly condescended upon. Nor can I see, how the Origin of a Nation could not have been preserv'd by those who were of it, or how, being established it could have evanished when People became more polite and curious. And after the year 600 I have prov'd, that our Historians might have been, and were sufficiently war-

ranted in what they have 'said, by old Manuscripts, and Records: nor is there any thing urg'd in this objection against us, but what might as unanswerably be urg'd against the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians. A receiv'd History cannot be overturn'd, from what I have formerly represented, without Arguments, which necessarily conclude that the History impugn'd must be false; which cannot be alledg'd here, where the warrands of the History controverted not onely might have been, but probably were true; and are so far from contradicting other Histories, that they are confirm'd by them.

I desire also to know, what old Manuscripts and Records *Luddus*, the *Antiquary* so far prefer'd to ours, had for proving, that much elder Succession of History from *Brutus* to his own time: And whereas *St. Asaph* says, that *Buchanan* should not have tax'd *Luddus* for deriving the *Britons* from *Brutus*, since he own'd a Succession of our Kings from *Fergus*, there being as few Documents to support the one, as the other.

To

To this my Answer is, that there have been very solid grounds brought for sustaining the one, which cannot be alledg'd for the other, and ours are adminiculated by the *Roman* History, whereas theirs is inconsistent with it: for it is palpably inconsistent with the *Roman* History to say, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Ascanius* whom he kill'd, for which being banish'd from *Italy*, he came over to *Britain*: and that *Britain* was govern'd by *Consuls*: which should rather be laugh'd at, than confuted.

The *Bishop* is most unjust to us, in asserting, that we have no Authour of our own before *Fordon*; and that no Authour mentions our Antiquity, but such as have follow'd *Fordon*, who wrote about 300 years ago. For *Fordon* cites his vouchers, many of which are extant, and those who are lost are approv'd to have been extant: Within the Isle we could have no Authours till there were Writers, and *Gildas* and *Beda* the eldest in the Isle prove our Antiquity. Without the Isle none could know us, being so remote, but either

ther by the Wars they had with us, or the *Christianity* that was common to them and us. As to our Wars, all the *Roman* Authours above-related speak of us; *Orosius* about the year 417. *Claudian* 397. *Ammianus* before the year 360. *Beda* and *Eumenius* speak of us, as before *Julius Cæsar*, as hath been prov'd. All which we have collaterally supported, by a gradation of Ecclesiastick Historians abroad, and all our own Historians at home. *Beda* brings us to *Reutherus*, who was the 6th. King from *Fergus* the first: and he living within 150 years of *Fergus*, this short step may be trusted to Tradition, though we had wanted the help of the *Druids*, and *Phœnician* Letters: For a Father might have inform'd his Son of so near a time, nor was this worthy of a fiction. And I may modestly say of the foregoing citations from foreign Authours, that if they be not strong enough to overturn the *Bishop's* Hypothesis, yet they are at least as strong, as those adduc'd by *Josephus* in defence of the *Jewish* History; and yet all the learn'd World has acquiesc'd in them.

No.

Nor is there any thing to be concluded from the silence of *Adamnanus*, and *Marianus* the eldest of our Historians : though, as the *Bishop* alledges, they had certainly mention'd our antiquity, if they had known it. For *Adamnanus* wrote no History save of *Columba*; and *Marianus* going to *Germany*, when he was very young, could know little of us, and mentions onely the three Kings of *Scotland*, in whose time he liv'd : and so if this Argument prov'd any thing, it would prove too much. For certainly we had Kings before those three, whom he mentions, and these negative Arguments are of no moment in matters of History, and are justly reprobated by the learned *Scaliger*, in his Notes on *Eusebius*, and by **Vossius*.

*.De hist. Latin.
p. 4.

The second Objection is, That our Historians contradict one another concerning the Origin of the *Picts*, which ought to lessen their credit. But to this it is answered, that our Historians were not concern'd to consider the Origin of the *Picts*, as they were to consider their own

own. And this Objection subsumes not what is true in matter of Fact. For our Historians generally agree in the Origin of the *Picts*, whom all of them make to be *Schythians* : and though *Fordon* relates three different accouts of them, yet he does not settle upon any thing that is different from our other Historians * as is fully to be seen.

* Cap. 30. & 37. l. 1.

The third Objection is, that our Historians are contradicted by our own Antecessours; for our Historians assert that King *Donald* the first was our first *Christian King* ; whereas in our Apology against *Edward* the first of *England* about the year 1300, we assert the Tradition of a wonderfull Victory obtain'd by our King *Hungus*, against the *Saxons* , by the *Relicks* of *St. Andrew* the *Apostle*, by virtue whereof the *Scots* first receiv'd the Faith of *Christ*.

To which it is shortly answer'd, that every contradiction does not overturn the truth of a whole History ; otherwise we need not be troubled to give any other answer to the *Bishop's* own Book : nor is this pretended to be a contradiction amongst

mongst our Historians, for they all agree, that King *Donald* was our first *Christian King*; but in that Apology, which is alledg'd to contradict our Histories, our Predecessours design'd, as most Pleaders do (and this Eloquent Authour does in his Book) to gain their point at any rate. For understanding whereof, it is fit to know, that King *Edward* the first, having upon the Competition betwixt *Bruce* and *Baliol*, interpos'd with design to make himself *Lord Paramount* of *Scotland*; he caus'd his *Parliament* write to the *Pope*, to whom afterwards he wrote himself; in which Letter of his, it is pretended, that we were Vassals to *England*, as descended from *Albanactus* the second Son to *Brutus*.

2. Because several of our Kings had become Vassals to his Predecessours, in the times of the *British*, *Saxon* and *Norman* Kings. To which we answer in our Apology, that without debating, whether the first Inhabitants of the Isle were descended from *Albanactus*, or his *Albanians*, it is asserted, that we came from *Spain* by *Ireland*, and conquer'd
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* Bed. Eccl. Hist.
lib. I. c. I.

St. Asaph
p. 45.

the first Inhabitants (for which we cite * *Beda*) and so, though they had been Vassals, we were free; not being lyable to the conditions of the People we conquer'd; and as such, fought constantly against the *Britons*, who were forc'd to build *Severus's Wall* against us. And as to any homage made by our Kings, it was either for the three Northern *Counties* of *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Northumberland*, confirm'd to us by the *Britons*, to defend them against the *Saxons*; and thereafter again * confirm'd by both *Saxons* and *Britons* to assist them against the *Danes*. Or was extorted by force, from one or two young Captive Kings; upon which heads the *Popes* had declar'd us free: which *Bulls*, *Edward* himself had robb'd unjustly out of our Treasure, with other Records, which he could not deny: but to cajole the *Pope* their Judge, they insinuate, that though they were not Tributaries to his *Holiness*, as *England* was; yet they ought to be protected by the *Pope*, because they had been converted by *St. Andrew* his Predecessor's

four's Brother-german : St. *Andrew* having in *Hungus's* reign obtain'd for them a victory over the *Saxons* ; and so became subject, and sub-servient to the *Pope*, in having converted the *Saxons* by *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman*. From this matter of fact, I observe, 1. That we own'd the same origination there, that our Historians do to this day : and so our Antecessors differ'd not from our Historians, much less are they irreconcilable, as St. *Asaph* alledges. 2. That the *English* acknowledg'd us to be as ancient as the *Britons*, they and we being descended from two Brothers. 3. That what we said of St. *Andrew*, must needs be upon design, to have oblig'd the *Pope*, meaning certainly, either that we were then first effectually converted to the Church of *Rome*, from the Oriental Observations, in which we were very long, very obstinate, and that *Rome* consider'd that, as the true Conversion ; or that after that time, we first became subject, though not feudatary to the *Pope*, as these fore-cited words subjoyn'd, do insinuate. But that our conversion from *Paganism*,

nism, was more than 400 years, before the *Saxons*; is positively asserted in that same Apology. Nor can this have another meaning, for it is undeniable, that we were *Christians*, long before the reign of *Hungus*, who reign'd 800 years after *Christ*: and *Colman*, &c. liv'd long before that King. Nor was *Hungus* our King, we being onely auxiliaries to him then, as King of the *Picts*: after which Apology King *Robert* the 1st. being crown'd, and having defeated King *Edward* at *Banock-burn*, where he gain'd a most signal victory over the *English*, they then being low, made application to the *Pope*, and he having discharg'd us, by a formal Interdiction, to pursue the victory into *England*; the *Nobility*, to pacifie that *Pope*, and to remove the Interdiction, at the desire of the King, wrote a Letter, wherein they own the antiquity of our Nation, and Religion, and *Royal-Line*, mentioning when we came from *Spain*, as our Historians do, with whom they agree exactly, *ut ex antiquorum gestis, & libris collegimus*, says the Letter: which being prior
to

to *Fordon*, proves that all this was not *Fordon's* dream, and that our History is well founded on old Records, prior to *Fordon*. And lastly it appears, that our Kings were not *Vassals* to *England* for their Crown, but onely for these Provinces, as * *St. Asaph* confesses, and as I have prov'd in my *Treatise of Precedency*; albeit our independency was as much controverted of old, as our antiquity is now: and I hope that the one will shortly appear as unjust a pretence, as the other is already confest to be. From this it appears that there is rather a harmony than real contradiction here, and that any seeming contradiction is far less, than the real ones, betwixt *Beda*, and the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*, and the following contradictions wherein he differs from himself. For clearing whereof observe, That the *Bishop* says* he questions not the truth of any thing that is said to have been within 800 nay within 1400 years; but so it is, that this would bring us to be sett'd here, before the year 300 after *Christ*: for subtract 1400 out of 1684, (which is the year, in which

* P. 46.

* P. 8.

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the *Bishop* Prints his Book) his *Lordship* can controvert nothing except what was done within 284 years after *Christ* : And yet he decrys our Historians, for saying; that we were settl'd here before the year 503 ; and denies our being *Christians* for many years after the year 300 ; and to improve this learn'd *Bishop's* just concession, I must remark, that all our Historians agree, that *Gregory* the great *King* of *Scotland*, who died *Anno* 892 added *Northumberland* to the *Merse*, and having defeated the *Britons* at *Lockmaben*, he forc'd them to renew their ancient League, and to confirm to him the former Right, his Predecessours got from them to *Cumberland*, and *Westmorland*, for assisting them against the *Picts* and *Saxons* ; which shews also, what great things we could do, not onely alone without, but even against the *Picts*. All which being said by our Historians, not onely within the 1400 years, but the 800 are not contravertible by the *Bishop's* concession: and therefore I understand not why
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he asserts * that we had nothing but the Kingdom of *Argile* before the beating and extirpating of the *Picts*, who gave us their possession beyond *Drumalbain*. Nor can I reconcile, how the *Bishop* asserts all along, and particularly, * that the *Picts* had nothing besouth *Grabams-dyke*, or the *Frith* of *Forth* and *Clyde*: and yet he confesses * that amongst the

* P. 42.

* Cap. 1. Pars. Graph. 3, 5, and 12.

* P. 150.

South Picts, there was a Monastery of *St. Martin* at *Whit-born* founded by *St. Ninian*, in honour of that Saint; and *Whit-born* is in *Galloway*, in the furthest south point of our *Scotland*, near 80 miles besouth *Forth*; and himself also confesses * * P. 83. *Whit-born* to be in *Galloway*.

The fourth Objection being, that our Historians have followed *Jeffrey* of *Munmoth*, in many ridiculous inventions, which were purely his own; and particularly in the History of *Bassianus*, who being *Emperour*, is by him pretended to have been kill'd in *Britain*, by *Fulgentius*, which, though *Buchanan* does not exactly follow, yet he still makes *Bassianus* to have been a *Roman Lieutenant*, and to have been kill'd

in *Britain*, whereas it appears not from any *Roman* Authours, that there was any *Roman Lieutenant* here. To this it is answered, that no man comparing our Histories with *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, can think so: for we bring not our Nation from *Brutus*, as he does against common sense; and though *Jeffrey* tells a story of *Bassianus* the *Emperour* being kill'd in *Britain*, which contradicts the *Roman* Story: yet *Fordon* does expressly say * *it was not that Bassianus who was Emperour*, but a *Captain* sent here: and so does not follow, but contradict *Jeffrey*. And *Buchanan*, to shew that he does not follow him (and he understood too well the *Roman* Story to do so) onely relates that there was a *Bassianus* kill'd, which no *Roman* History contradicts; and which is not to be presum'd *Buchanan* would have made, since there is nothing in it for the advantage of his Nation: and as it is probable, the *Emperour* would not have suffer'd *Caruafius* to make such great preparations, without sending a considerable *Captain*; especially since *Eutropius* tells, that after
many

* Non utique ille
Basilisus, Caracalla,
qui tres annis non pueris
annis, Severo patri
successit, sed
alius jam tunc pro-
pter invidia juvenis
imperare electus.
Scor. chro. l. 2.
cap. 45.

many Wars attempted with *Carausius*; he at last concluded, to send a *Captain* against him, without naming who that *Captain* was. It were a hard thing therefore to conclude so great Authours were forgers, because they condescend not upon an Authour for every indifferent circumstance; and the * *Notitia Imperii* is so far from having taken notice of every *Lieutenant* in a *Legion*, that I can prove by many Texts of the Civil Law, that even *Consuls* themselves have been forgot, when they were onely chosen to succeed to those, who died during their *Consulship*.

* *Vid. Instit. ad
Senatus. Con.
Tribell.*

But the great Objection used by the Bishop, against our Antiquity, lyes in the 4th. §. of the Bishops first Chapter, wherein he asserts, *That Ireland was peopled by the Scots, and was the onely Scotland, before these times, viz. before the year 503: And in the 5th. §. That there were no Scots in Britain before the said year 300: And in the 6th. and 8th. §. That the Scots betwixt the 300, and 500 years were indeed here, but not settled, and onely by way of incursion: And in the 9th. §. he asserts, That*

I. 3 about

about the year 500 they first settled here, and erected the Kingdom of Argile: And in the 12th. and 13th. §. he asserts, That after the year 900, we got the rest of the Countrey, and then onely it came to be called Scotland.

For clearing all these mistakes without partiality or humour, I shall sum up my Answers, in these distinct Propositions.

First, it is undeniable in it self, and acknowledged by our Adversaries, that the first special names, under which *Ireland* was known, were *Ferna* among the * *Greeks*; and *Hibernia* among the *Latins*: both of which are, as I said, acknowledg'd by † Bishop *Usher* himself.

My second Position is, that before the year 300, there is no Foreign Authour produced by either Nation, that mentions *Scotia*, *Scoti*, or *Scoticæ gentes*, except *Seneca* who mentions the *Scoto-brigantes*: and *Florus* the *Scoticæ pruina*: and *Hegesippus* who mentions *Scotia*: and *Porphyry* who mentions *Scoticæ gentes*. And though I have prov'd formerly all these Authours and Passages to be genuine, and applicable to

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* *Prolem. Greg.*
lib. 2. cap. 2.

† *Pag. 722. 723,*
and particularly
724. *Hanc insu-*
lam Britannidem
olim à lo. c. Cæ-
sare vocatam, Fa-
bius Ethelwardus
hanc vocat: non
alio enim
quam Hiberniæ
nomen à Cæsare
ut post eum à Vli-
nio, S. Iano, &
Tacito illam in-
venimus.

us alone : yet, *though they were onely spurious Authours, or the conjectural readings of new Criticks,* *as *Usher* (whom *St. Asaph* follows) alledges, *Porphyry* onely excepted, whose testimony is admitted by him to be in the third Century ; It clearly follows, that *St. Asaph* has without sufficient warrant altered in the to be mentioned place, that *Ireland* was called *Scotland* before the year 300 : he admitting no Authour for this, save *Porphyry*, whose Book he acknowledges not to be extant, but to be onely cited by *Jerome*, who lived long after the year 300.

3. My chief design in this Book is not to debate the Antiquity of the names of *Scotia*, or *Scoti* ; but onely when we first settled under Kings in this Isle : and consequently though *Usher* and *St. Asaph* could prove, that the word *Scotia*, and *Scoti*, were not known the first 300 years, except in *Porphyry* ; yet that cannot prove that we were not settled here before that time. For it is undeniable, that many Nations have had peculiar names, before these names can be found in History, as *Scaliger*

very well proves: and they could not be known in Histories, till other Nations had commerce with them, and wrote of them, which was a thing very accidental. And Foreigners do oft-times design nations by Appellatives, which they themselves invent: and it is asserted by *Usher*, that the *Scots* inhabited *Ireland*, long before the year 300, though till then he cannot give an Authour for that word. And who can deny that the *Picts* liv'd long here before *Eumenius*, who first mention'd them, and liv'd long after *Porphyry* who mentions the *Scots*? And it is very observable that to this day neither the *Irish* nor *We* are called *Scots* in the true *Irish* Language: for they call their own Countrey-men *Erenach*, from the word *Ferna*, or *Ibernia*, and *Us Albanach* from *Albion*, and *Albania*: which also clears that we got that name long before *Julius Cæsar's* time; since before that time, the word *Albion* was run into desuetude, and was succeeded to by the more known name of *Britannia*: And these Originations are the more confirm'd, that to this day the same *Irish*,

Irish, and our *High-landers* know no other names to the *English*, save *Sassanach*, because of *Saxony*, from which they came: as they call'd us *Albanach* (to distinguish us from themselves) from the Countrey to which *we* came: Which may give us likewise a hint, how by names, without Histories, most ancient Monuments of Antiquity may be preserv'd: And it is fully prov'd before that time, we were known in this Countrey, under the names of * *Dalreudini*, and † *Caledonii*.

4. All those uncontroverted Testimonies, that make first mention of the *Scots*, and of *Scotland*, are onely applicable to us: such as *Claudian*, *Pacatius*, *Ammianus*, &c. as has formerly been fully prov'd. And since *Hegefippus* is the first Author, produc'd by St. *Asaph*, who mentions *Scotia*; and that it has been formerly prov'd that these passages relate to us, and not to *Ireland*, it follows clearly, that the name *Scotia* was given to us, before it was given to *Ireland*, or that the *Irish* were call'd *Scoti*; Albeit it were admitted that the works ascribed to *Hegefippus* were

* Beda lib. i. c. i.

† Tacit. in vita Agricol.

were really *St. Ambrose's*, who flourished before the year 400.

5. Though it be true, and acknowledged on all hands, that *Ireland* was inhabited by the Nation of the *Scots*, as is written by *Orosius* in the year 417, and that it be true that our Colony came from *Ireland*, as *Beda* and our Historians commonly assert, and that thence it may be said, that *Hibernia est propria Scotorum Patria*: It will not follow that either *we*, or the *Irish* were call'd *Scots* before that time; or that because *we* have deriv'd our Colony from the *Irish*, that therefore *we* have deriv'd the name of *Scoti* from them. But on the contrary, supposing with *Usher*, that the *Nomen Scoticum* had been first given in the third Century, then the name behov'd to have been ours originally, who were more known and consider'd in the World than they, because of the honour we had in the *Roman Wars* (whose Authors do first mention *Scoti*, and *Scotia*) and our early conversion to the *Christian Faith*; And by our frequent intercourse of Colonies with the *Irish* (as about the time of *Fergus* the second)

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It is probable we did communicate the name of *Scoti* to these Inhabitants in *Ireland*, from whose Ancestors we were descended, and among whom our Colonies that were returned, settled; as at this day, the *Scots* in the North of *Ireland* do retain the name, and as we had the name of *Hiberni* communicated to us from them; which is abundantly clear'd from what is said out of *Eumenius* and *Gildas*. So that these names of *Hiberni* and *Scoti* have become common to both People: But with this difference, that as the *Irish* were originally called *Hiberni*; so our *Scots* were originally *Scoti*. For of all the passages adduced by *Usher* or *St. Asaph*, to prove the *Irish* to be called *Scoti*, that of *Orosius* is the first that is applicable to them: for these from *Claudian*, *Ammianus*, *Pacatus* and *Hegesippus* do not at all agree with them; nor yet that passage from *Prosper*, as has been proved; nor these from *Gildas*, for though he calls those People, who are said to return home, *Hiberni* or *Irish*; yet
 * he

* Pag. 117, 118.
inter Orthodoxos.

* pag. 347 Edit.
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* he calls the same People who return'd home *Scots*, and not *Irish*: And the actions, to which these passages cited against us relate, are uncontroversiedly by *Beda*, *Gildas*, and all the *Roman* Authors applicable to us, and not to the *Irish*: being the three Vastations made by the *Picts*, and *Us* in the *British* Territories. And *Marianus* (whom the Bishop likewise cites against us) * does expressly apply this to the *Scots*; for he uses the word *Scoti* in speaking of all the three Vastations: And whereas *Gildas* useth the word *Scoti* speaking of the first two Vastations, and says, *Hiberni revertuntur domum*, speaking of the last: *Marianus*, repeating the same passage, says, *Scoti revertuntur domum*. By which also I infer by a far better Consequence, that the *Scots* must be said to return to the place where they were formerly settled; but so it is, that the place where the *Scots* were formerly settled, was the West of *Scotland*, and therefore when they return'd home, they return'd not to *Ireland*, as *St. Asaph* alledges, but to our North-West-Country as we contend:

contend: for the word in *Gildas*, is, à *Circio*, which signifies North-West; and *Ireland* lyes South-West from *Grahams-Dyke*, near which these actions were done: But *Argile*, and these Isles which We possessed, lyes indeed North-West from it. And if they had return'd to *Ireland* they had been *Trans-marine*, as living in another Isle, contrary to *Gildas's* own express assertion.

2. Why should the *Picts* and *Scots* (being spoke of as to their going home together, the one to the North, and the other to the West) not be thought to have gone home to the same Isle, since different Isles are not mentioned; and if I said, I were going to the West, that in common sense could onely be understood, of the West of that Kingdom or Island where I then were; and not of any other Kingdom lying to the West thereof. And both the *Picts* and *Scots* being equally called *Trans-marine* Nations, if the *Scots* went out of the Isle, it must follow that the *Picts* left it also, which never any was so ridiculous as to alledge. By all which it clearly follows,

lows, that the words *Scoti* & *Hiberni* were, before these times promiscuously ascribed to us. And though *Beda* may speak of the *Scots* coming from *Ireland*, and settling a third Colony in *Britain* long before *Julius Cæsar's* time, yet that doth onely prove the Antiquity of the Settlement of the People, that are call'd *Scoti*, but not the Antiquity of their Name, concerning which *Beda* was not treating: for he rather seems to insinuate the contrary, when * he says, *A quo (viz. duce Reuda) usque hodie Dalreudini vocantur.*

* Lib. i. cap. i.

6. The Passages adduced by *St. Asaph* and *Usher*, for proving that *Ireland* was called *Scotia*, after the age that *Hegeſippus* or *Ambrose* liv'd in, and within the 1000 years, are very few: and many of them from Legendary Writers. But I shall glance at the most material. The first is *Isidor Hispalensis* who liv'd in the 7th. Century, and who says *Scotia eadem & Hibernia proxima Britanniae Insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ fœcundior.* The same words are used by *Orosius*, whom he follows, except that *Orosius*

* Lib. 41. cap. de insulis.

sius calls the Inhabitants *Scoti*, but does not call the Countrey *Scotia* but *Hibernia*: so that *Orosius* having first call'd the Inhabitants of *Ireland*, *Scoti*, in the year 417, *Isidor* by an ordinary derivation calls their Countrey *Scotia*, and is the first that *Usher* or *St Asaph* does produce to prove *Hibernia* to be called *Scotia*; and is in the year 620, and so is too late to prove their design, since it is clearly prov'd that our Countrey was called *Scotia* in *St. Ambrose's* time, even by their own concession. And whereas the same *Isidor*, speaking of *Ireland*, says, *hæc est propriè Scotorum patria*; beside what has been formerly urged, it is observable that the word *propriè* does imply, as if it might have been justly doubted, and that it was not true in all senses: especially since * *Beda* uses the very same expression after that he has fully cleared that we were settled here long before that time: and therefore it doth necessarily follow that these words are consistent with our being settled here; and consequently that they must not be so interpreted, as to infer that *Ireland*

Cap. 1. lib. 1.

* Cujac. lib. 14.
 Obl. 12. & ad
 legem 6. parag.
 grammatici ff. de
 excus. mun.

land was the place where we then liv'd, but onely the place from which we came: And such as understand the *Civil Law* (the best Standard of the Latin Language) must acknowledge, that there is * *Patria Originis*, as well as *Incolatus & domicilii*: And it may be justly said of these of *Virginia* and other *English Plantations*, that *Anglia est propriè illorum patria*: And generally it is observable, that the Authors relating both to us and them, do first call the People *Scoti*, and then the Countrey *Scotia*: but still the more ancient Authors call us *Scoti* before them, and our Countrey *Scotia* before theirs.

As to the Citations out of *Adamnanus in vita Columbæ*, and *Beda*: It is certain that *Adamnanus* is lately publish'd by an *Irish* hand, as appears by the Marginal Notes, the Publisher still adding *Hibernia* in the Margin, where *Scotia* is in the Text: but however it is certain that *Adamnanus* was *Abbat* of *Hy*, which is *Icolm-kill* among the *Scotish* West Islands: so that in *dubio* he is presum'd to be a *Scotsman*, and not
 an

an *Irish*; and *Balæus* and others positively assert him to be a *Scots-man*; Nor is there any reason for their calling him an *Irish-man*; but because all Authors who speak of him, call him *Scotus*; and to assert a man to be an *Irish-man*, because he is called *Scotf-man*, is rather a *Bull* than a *Reason*. But because he is mention'd by *Beda*, who liv'd shortly after him and is an Author of far greater Authority; what I shall observe from *Beda*, will serve to clear the Citations out of both.

And first, *Beda** relates, That *Ecgfrid King of Northumberland, having sent an army into Ireland under Bertus, he wasted the Countrey, and the innocent people.* and the next year having sent an army to waste the Province of the *Picts*, contrary to the advice of his Friends, and of *Sr. Cuthbert*, *GOD* suffered that army to be destroy'd, because the former year he had rejected their advice, * *That he should not invade Scotland, which did not wrong him:* and to clear that the *Scotia* here express'd was not *Ireland*, he adds,

M

* *The*

* *Ecgfridus Rex Nordan humbrorum missus in Hiberniam cum exercitu duxit Bertus vastavit in fere gentem innocens & Anglorum genti semper an iustitiam.*
Beda. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 26.

* *Ne Scotiam nihil se bellicosius impugnet.* *Ibid.*

* Angli & Scoti
qui erant in Bri-
tannia. Ibid.

* *The English and Scots who abide in Britain.* This passage (as well as the others which I have cited, and shall cite) proves 1. That *Scotland* then has been promiscuously express'd by the Names of *Hibernia* and *Scotia*: For the same thing is said first to have been done in *Hibernia*, and thereafter it is said to have been done in *Scotia*: and this answers the Objection, *Hiberni revertuntur domum*, and where could their home be, but in *Ireland*? 2. It proves that this our Countrey was call'd *Scotia* in *Beda's* time; and so long before the year 1000. which the Bishop denies. Nor can it be prov'd that the King of *Northumberland* went to make War in *Ireland*; nor speaks *Beda* of any War with *Ireland*.

The next passage from *Beda* is, where he says * *That Columbanus an Abbat and Presbyter came in the year 565. from Ireland to Britain to Preach the Word of GOD to the Provinces of the North-picts: and converted them: and got from them*

* Columbanus
qui anno incarnationis
365. Abbas
& Presbyter ve-
nit de Hibernia in
Britanniam
aiciurus verbum
Dei provincis sep-
tentrionalium Picto-
rum. Et gentem
illam convertit.

Unde & præfatum insulam ab eis in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit, ubi sepultus est. Ex quo Monasterio, & Monasterio de Dearmach per plurima Monasteria propagata sunt in Hibernia & Britannia, in quibus omnibus idem Monasterium insularum, principatum tenet, Bed. lib. 3. cap. 4.

possession

possession of the former Island for found-
 ing a Monastery, where he was buried:
 Out of which Monastery, (meaning
 Hy) many other Monasteries were
 propagated in Ireland and Britain:
 in all which the same Island Mona-
 stery was the chief. And he takes
 notice that the Successors of this Ab-
 bat differed in the Observation of
 Pasch from the Church of Rome, till
 the year 716. And thereafter he says,
 That * Aidan was sent from this Is-
 land for instructing the Province of
 the English. Now he had said before,
 † Aidan who was sent from the Isle
 which is called Hy, which is the chief
 of the Scottish and Pictish Monasteries,
 and belongs to Britain. And thereaf-
 ter he * says, That Colman seeing
 his Doctrine slighted, and his adherents
 despised, returned to Scotland. So
 that we see that that which at the
 first is called * Ireland; afterward is
 called † the said Island, and the Mo-
 nastery in it, the * Island monastery;
 and thereafter it is † called the Isle of
 Hy; and thereafter, it is * called
 Scotland.

I shall cite a third passage from
 Beda, where speaking of a great

* Ab hac ergo in-
 sula, ad provinciam
 Anglorum institu-
 endam in Christo.
 missus est Aidanus.
 lib. 3. cap. 5.

† Aidanus de in-
 sula quæ vocatur Hy
 destinatus quæ ar-
 cem tenet monaste-
 riorum Scottorum &
 Pictorum, & ad jus
 Britanniæ pertinet.
 lib. 3. cap. 3.

* Colman videns
 spretam suam do-
 ctinam scilicetque
 esse despectam;
 Scottiam regressus
 est. lib. 3. cap. 26.

cap. 4.

† Ibid.

* Ibid.

† cap. 3.

cap. 26.

* Hæc autem plaga Hiberniam insulam, pari clade premebat: Erant ibidem eodem tempore multi Nobilissimi simul & medicum de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani & Colmanni Episcoporum, reliquâ insulâ patriâ, vel æræ litionis, vel continentioris vitæ gratia, illo secesserunt. Quos omnes Scoti liberrime suspicientes vitum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, & magistrum gratitum præbere curabant. lib. 3. cap. 27.

† Vnde & genti suæ, & illis in quibus exulabat nationibus Scotorum sive Pictorum exemplo fuit. Ibid.

Plague in Britain, he adds, * *This Plague also wasted Ireland with the same destruction, at which time there were there many of the Nobility and Commons of England, who in the time of the Bishops Finan and Colman having left their own Native Island for the greater convenience, either of Divine Studies or a more strict Life, had retired there---- All whom the Scots kindly entertain'd, and furnished with all things necessary and gave them gratuitously Meat, and Books to read, and Learning. And thereafter speaking of Egbert who was among them, he adds † that he was a good Example to his own Nation, and to the Nations of the Picts and Scots, among whom he liv'd retiredly; by which passages it is evident, that that which is here called Ireland, is really our Scotland, first because it is said, they came from England upon the occasion of Finan and Colman, who were our Countrymen, and whose chief residence was the Isle of Hy, or Icolm-kill; (from which they came) which did then, and does still belong to us onely, and which the Bishop of St. Asaph also*

also * confesses: and then *because*
in their Monastick life, it is said, they resided among the *Scots* and *Picts*, and † it is said before that the Island where the Monastery was, belonged to *Britain*.

* Cap. 5. generally, and specially pag. 109.

† Lib. 3. cap. 3. & ad jus Britan-
 nia pertinet.

But for farther clearing the former Citations from *Beda* I shall offer these following Considerations.

1. That *Beda* treats onely the Actions of these five Nations that did inhabit *Britain*: and if he do speak of *France* or *Ireland*, it is but upon occasion of them; as of the situation of *Ireland* from whence the *Scots* came, or of some Monasteries depending upon *Icolm-kill*, which perhaps were situated near us, in the North of *Ireland*: and therefore unless all these passages were clearly applicable to *Ireland*, they must be understood of *Scotland*. 2. It being certain, that *Beda* in the beginning of his Book treats concerning the *Scots* in *Britain*, the *Roman* Wars with them, and *Palladius* his being sent to them, it necessarily follows, that the rest of the Book mentioning the *Scots*, or that part of the Isle possess'd by them, is to be un-

* B. 1. p. 152.

* Columba fundator monasterii quod in Hy-insula, venerabile Scottis & Pictis, & composito nomine à Cella & Columba Colmucelli vocatur, lib. 5. c. 10.

derstood of us, whether the Countrey he called *Hibernia* or *Scotia*, or We *Hiberni* or *Scoti*: especially since *Beda* mentions a King call'd *Aidan*, and * we had a King of that Name in that time, which the *Irish* cannot pretend. *Beda* treats also concerning the *Abbats* of *Hy*, which is *Icolm-kill*, as is clear by that passage * where he says, *Columba Founder of the Monastery in the Isle of Hy, venerable to the Scots and Picts, which by a compounded name from Columba and Cell is called Icolm-kill.* And that the *Monks* sent from this Monastery or Island were the Converters of the *North-Saxons*, and the first Bishops of *Lindasfern* or *Holy-Island* Predecessors of the Bishop of *Durham*. 3. He makes frequent mention of little Islands, which never did belong to *Ireland*, but to *Scotland*, and are still called *Hebrides*; And so the chief of these Isles where the *Abbat* fate, the Records were kept, and the Kings were buried, might probably be called *Insula Hiberniæ*, or *Hibernia*, and that *Scotia* might be the ordinary name to all that part

of the Isle of *Britain* benorth the River of *Clyde*: so that the going from *Hibernia* or *Scotia* in *Britanniam*, is nothing but the going to the other side of *Clyde*, * by which and *Grahams-Dyke* that part of the Isle was distinguish'd from the rest, as if it had been a distinct Island.

* Bed. lib. 1.
cap. 12.

4. The great Controversie at that time being about the keeping of *Pasch*, *Laurentius Mellitus*, and *Justus*, Bishops, did write a Letter to us of the following tenour. * *Laurentius Mellitus and Justus, Bishops, Servants of all the Servants of God, To our dearest Brethren the Bishops and Abbats through all Scotland. Whileas the Apostolick See, according to the custome it hath observ'd in the rest of the World, did send us to preach the Gospel unto the Heathens in these Western parts, and that it happened us to come into this Isle which is called Britain; we held in religious reverence both the Scots and*

* *Dominis Charissimis fratribus Episcopis vel Abbatibus per universam Scotiam, Laurentius Mellitus, & Justus, Episcopi servi servorum Dei. Dum nos Sedes Apostolica more suo, sicut in universo orbe terrarum in his occidentis partibus a predicandum genti bus paginis distigat, atque in hanc insulam, quae Britannia nuncupatur contigit introisse, antequam cognosceremus credentes, quod iura morem universalis*

Ecclesiae ingrederentur, in magna reverentia sanctitatis tum Brit: nec quam Scotos venerati sumus. Sed cognoscentes Britones, Scotos meliores putavimus. Scotos vero per Dagamum Episcopum in hanc quam superius memoravimus insulam, & Columba um Abbatem in Galia venientem, nihil disrepave à Britonibus in eorum conversatione discimus. Nam Dagimus Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quae viscebamus jure voluit. Bed. lib. 2. cap. 14.

Britons, *believing that they did walk after the Custome of the Universal Church: But after we had known the Britons, we judg'd the Scots to be the better minded: Yet now we perceive by Dagamus, the Bishop who is come hither, and by Columbanus the Abbat in France, that the Scots differ nothing in their observations from the Britons, for Dagamus being here, refused not onely to eat with us, but even to stay in the same Inn or Lodging.* Now that this is onely applicable to us, and not to the Scots in Ireland, the subject doth prove, being exhortatory Letters to conform in the observation of *Pasch*, wherein the *British Scots* who follow'd *Columba* differ'd from the *Roman Church*. 2. The Letter is written to the Scots, and relates to other Letters written to the *Britons* in the same Isle; and who needed the same exhortation. And it is to be remembred, That *Usher* generally concludes, that where the Scots and Britons are mentioned in Conjunction, by Scots there, are to be understood the *British Scots*.

3. * *Camerarius* cites *Georgius Newton*,

* *In Argum. ad
bib. 2. pag. 321.*

son, who about the Year 1500, being then *Arch-deacon* of *Dumblain*, did write the Acts of that *Church*, and relates that he had seen the *Antographum* of that Letter among the Records of that *Church*; and so it must necessarily have been written to the *Scots* in *Britain*, else it had not been in the custody of our *Church-men*, and at *Dumblain*.

And it is observable that *Marianus* pag. 275. makes mention of other two letters, in the year 632. The one from *Honorius*, and the other from *Pope John*, upon the same head; both which *Marianus* says, were sent to us, and not to the *Irish*.

I could adduce many other Citations to prove *Scotland* to have been call'd *Hibernia* in these ages; but it is sufficient to add, to these unanswerable proofs already adduced, the authority of the *Roman martyrology*; wherein *Sanetus Beatus* is design'd *Episcopus Aberdoniæ in Hibernia*, at the 16. of *December*. To which *Vardæus* an *Irish-man in vita Rumoldi* answers, that there might have been a place in *Ireland* call'd *Aberdeen*, because *Aber* is an *Irish* word, signifying a *Marish*. And there is a Town call'd *Doun* in *Ireland*, situated near a *Marish*. A pretty *Witticism* indeed! especially as he proposes the Objection, and answers the same as you may see upon the

Mar-

* *Diets in Martyrologio Romano vulgari legi ad diem 16. Decembris, Aberdone in Hibernia S. Beani Episcopi : Abredonenfis autem sedes Episcopalis est in Scotia Britannica : Ergo vel in hac est vel huc aliquando fuit Hibernia pag. 379.*

Adnugatorium ergo Sophisma distinguo Minorem : Abredonenfis, locus de quo Martyrologium agit, est in Britannia, Nego Minorem : alius ejusdem nominis, transeat. Vel absolute, Nego Consequentiam, ob fallaciam figuræ dictionis ; ut hanc, Omnis Canis est latrabilis ; sed fides est canis ; Ergo fides est latrabilis, &c. pag. 380.

Margine : * But to take off all Debate, *Beanus* is nam'd in our *Charterularies*, as well as *Histories*, as the first Bishop of *Aberdeen* : and the Mortifications granted to him, by our *King Malcolm 2d.* in the year 1010. of the Lands of *Murthblack, Cloveth, and Dounmeth*, are yet extant : and his *Tomb* is yet to be seen in the *Cathedral* of *Aberdeen*, at the postern Door of the Church.

To the former passages I must also add, that albeit our Countrey was promiscuously call'd *Scotia*, and *Hibernia*, as has been prov'd ; Yet *Scotia*, even in that time, was the more frequent Name of our Countrey : and which, to keep close to *Beda*, appears, for when he speaks of the Isle *Hy* (to which the former Citations chiefly relate, and which was the place of our Countrey, in which his History being Ecclesiastick is chiefly concern'd, as being then, one of (if not) the most famous Monastery in the Western World, he expresses it to be in *Scotia* : as where he tells, That

* Ceol-

* Ceollach of the Nation of the Scots, leaving his Bishoprick in England, return'd to Hy, where the Scots had their chief Monastery: And thereafter he tells, That † the same Ceollach having left his Bishoprick, return'd to Scotland. And the same Beda * Writing of Adamnanus, calls him, Abbat and Presbyter of the Monks that are in the Monastery of Hu: And mentioning the same Adamnanus, † He tells that he return'd to Scotland, after his Embassy in England. And how can it be denyed that Hy is in Scotland? since Beda calls it Scotland, and says that it belong'd to Britain: and is by all Geographers nam'd one of our *Hebrides*, and lyes locally within our Countrey; and was one of the first places which we planted, and far remoter from Ireland, than Kintire and others of our Islands; and in which our Kings were buried, and our Records kept.

To conclude this proposition, I shall add these reflexions; 1. That it is not so easie for St. *Asaph* to explicate himself as to these passages concerning *Scotia* and *Scoti*, and to make them

* Ceollach de natione Scottorum, qui non multo post Episcopatu relicto reversus est ad insulam Hy, ubi plurimorum caput & arcem Scoti habuere cenobiorum. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 21.
† Ceollach qui relicto Episcopatus officio vivens ad Scotiam rediit. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 24.
* Adamnanus presbyter & Abbas Monachiorum qui erant in insula Hu. Bed. lib. 5. cap. 16.
† Adamnanus reversus ad Scotiam. Bed. lib. 5. cap. 22.

them signifie *Ireland* and *Irish*, since the 500 year, as before: for admitting that the Terms were anciently applicable to *Ireland*, and that the *Scots* when mention'd here, were but by Invasion from *Ireland*; Yet it being acknowledg'd, that after the year 500, we were settled here; It follows, that when the *Scots* and *Scoti* are mention'd in relation to *British* affairs, and conjunction with the Inhabitants of *Britain*, they must be understood of us, and our Countrey. 2. *Beda* mentioning our Countrey to be call'd *Scotia*, as well as *Hibernia*, from *Columba's* time to his own, it is not onely an evidence, that it was so call'd in that time, but that the name had not been then first given, otherwise he could not have been ignorant of the Change, nor would he have failed to remark it: so that we may reasonably conclude in his sense, the Name of *Scotia* is as ancient in *Britain*, as the time he mentions the settlement, Wars, and Religion of the *Scots* there. 3. It is evident, That *St. Asaph's* * Proposition is false, viz. That, when we settled here after the
year

year 500, our Kingdom was called Argile or Dalrieda : for if this had been true, this name being so recent could not but have been noticed and used by *Gildas* and *Beda* ; and yet it is never so much as once mention'd by either of them ; though *Beda* upon the occasion of the Monastery of *Hy*, or *Icolmkill*, and of the Bishops sent thence to *England* doth frequently mention the names of *Hibernia* and *Scotia*, and that *St. Asaph* * doth not controvert, but that these Bishops were sent from our Isle of *Icolmkill* to *England*. 4. We may observe how warrantable Bishop *Usher's* * Position (repeated by *St. Asaph*) is that no Authour mentions our Countrey by the name of *Scotia* for the first 1000 years : whereas most of all the former Authours both within and without the Isle, prove *Scotia* to have been the name of our Countrey ; and the whole tract of *Beda's* History proves, that since the 560, this Countrey was generally so called : whereas neither *Gildas*, nor *Beda* who liv'd near that time, and wrote whole Books of us, do once call it *Dalrieda* or *Argile* : and consequently

* Cap. 5. sect. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

* Pag. 734.

frequently (as I observ'd before)
 St. *Asaph's* whole §. 9. of the first
 Chapter, wherein he asserts, that
 about the year 500 the *Scots* erected
 the Kingdom of *Argile* or *Dalrieda*
 is most unwarrantable ; for though
Beda calls us once *Dalreudini*, yet
 this is spoken of us by him, in the
 time of our *King Reuda*, and so near
 700 years before the 503 after *Christ*.
 And from this also arises a clear con-
 futation of what St. *Asaph* asserts,
 that no Authour writing within the
 1000 years and naming *Scotia*, means
 us ; which is so far from being true,
 that no Authour of Credit (*Isidor* one-
 ly excepted) did then by *Scotia* mean
Ireland. And the best Authority
 that *Usher* gives us for *Dalrieda* is
Jocelin ; which St. *Asaph* hath im-
 proved by a new Authority out of
 a Manuscript of the *Lord Burleigh's*
 where the Authour thinks that *Dal-*
rieda and the Kingdom of *Argile* ,
 are the same. Authours not to be
 once mentioned with these whom
 we cite.

7. The distinction of *Scotia major*,
 and *minor* is lately invented : for ei-
 ther *Ireland* was call'd *Scotia major*
 before

before the year 1000; or onely since: if the first, then it necessarily implyeth that at that time our Countrey was also call'd *Scotia minor*; there being no other place assignable: but this is contrary to *Usher* and *St. Asaph's* position who deny our Countrey was called *Scotia* at all for the first 1000 years. If it be asserted that this distinction was after the 1000 year; then there was little or no use for it: for

* *Usher* tells that *Nubiensis Geographus* about the year 1150. describes *Ireland* by the name of *Hibernia*,

* Pag. 734.

and describes our Countrey by the name of *Scotia*: and so it seems at that time *Ireland* had lost the name in our favours; and it is not to be imagin'd that *Nubiensis* remarked the first periods of the change of the name; and Geographers do describe Countries by their ordinary names: nor does *Usher* * adduce any

* Pag. 724. & 757.

other Testimony save a Letter of *Dovenaldus Oneil Prince of Ulster* to *Pope John 22d* wherein there is this passage * *Beside the Kings of lesser Scotland, who all came originally from our greater Scotland.* And a

Patent

* Quod præter Reges minoris Scotiæ, qui omnes de nostra majore Scotia originem sumptere.

* *Conventus Scottorum & Hibernorum de majore Scotia Monasterii in Ratisbona.*

Patent of *Sigismund* the Emperour
 * *To the Convent of the Scots and Irish of Greater Scotland of a Monastery in Ratisbon.* Now *Usher* acknowledgeth the eldest of these two Citations were in the 14th, or 15th Century; when I hope no body will assert, that *Ireland* was called *Scotia major*, or that ever the Kings of *England* who were Lords of *Ireland* were ever called Lords *Majoris Scotiæ*; and it is probable they would have very much affected that Title (if the Countrey had had that name) although they could never make themselves Masters *Scotiæ Minoris*. But it is no wonder, that the *Irish* should be vain to tell Foreigners that they were our Chief, and so their Countrey ought to be called *Scotia minor*: notwithstanding that our Nation was then become great and glorious: and that *Usher* can find no better authority for his distinction of *Scotia major* and *major*, than these borrowed and magnifying Names, used long after he himself acknowledgeth that *Ireland* had lost the name of *Scotia*, and that We were onely in possession of it.

8. The mistaking of the names of *Scotia* and *Hibernia*, and of that assertion, *Scotia eadem & Hibernia*, and applying these names still to *Ireland*, and not to our Countrey, hath been the ground whereupon we have been injured, as to the Antiquity of our *Kings* and *Countrey*, *Saints* and *Learned Men*, *Monasteries* and *greatness abroad*: for admitting it to be true, that we were not settled here till the year 500; yet since that time we had the greatest share in worthy men, and brave actions; and therefore they extend the consequences beyond their own grounds, in making all the *Scoti-Irish*, and all that is said of *Scotland*, to be meant of *Ireland*, even after the year 503. For beside the novelty of the distinction of *Scotia Major & Minor*, and that *Ireland* had lost the name of *Scotia* before the year 1150. (if ever it was usually so call'd) What appearance is there, that *Ireland*, which (is acknowledg'd) anciently, and till the year 300. passed under the name of *Hibernia* (a little before which time we have no mention *Scotici nominis*) should after the 300

N year

year have assum'd the name of *Scotia*, and immediately after the 1100 year quit it again, and after all reassum'd the name of *Hibernia* or *Irelandia*? and that the *Scots* in *Britain*, who were long settled there, should yet never get the name *Scotia* to their Countrey, till about the time that *Ireland* was quitting it. And yet we find in *Malcolm 2.* his time (as was formerly observ'd) who began to Reign in the year 1004. That the *Frith of Forth* (in his Laws in the Book of *Regiam Majestatem*) is call'd *Mare Scotiæ*: And also it is said there that the same King did Distribute *omnem terram Scotiæ hominibus suis*: and it is not to be concluded, that this was the first time that our Countrey was so call'd; and about that time *Ireland* was expressed onely by the name of *Hibernia*, for King *Henry* second of *England*, who began to Reign in the year 1154. is styled *Lord of Ireland*.

And to clear farther that *Scotia* about these times was the ordinary name for *Scotland*, and *Hibernia* for *Ireland*; I shall onely add
some

some few Passages out of *Marianus Scotus*, who was born in the year 1028, and died in the year 1086,

* who says, that about the year 1016 *Brianus King of Ireland was Killed*, and a little thereafter † at the year 1034. *Malcolm King of Scotland died*, and *Duncan the son of his Daughter succeeded him*. And after that he says at the year 1040.

* *Duncan King of Scotland was killed*, and the son of *Finlay succeeded in his Kingdom*, whom afterward † he calls * *Machetad King of Scotland*.

All which passages agree exactly with our History, and the summary of our Kings lives, as they are recorded in our Acts of Parliament, and prove that *Marianus* treats of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as different Kingdoms in his time.

* In the last place I shall make some Remarks upon the most palpable of these mistakes, and of the chief Authors thereof: wherein I shall vindicate the Right and Dignity of our Countrey, and assert these worthy persons controverted to be ours. I shall not insist much against *Staniburst*, he being solidly Confuted by

* *Brianus Rex Hibernie necatur.*

pag. 423.

† *Moelcolium Rex Scotie obiit, Donchad filius filie ejus sibi successit,* pag.

424.

* *Donchad Rex Scotie occiditur & Mcfinlaech successit in Regnum ejus,*

pag. 425.

† pag. 427.

* *Mackbeth.*

* Appen. ad lib. 3. * *Camerarius*, and with that severity by *Dempster*; that his Nephew Bishop *Usher* (as the Duke of *Lauderdale* Remarked in some Judicious Reflexions of his upon this occasion) did highly resent it, and in this matter hath exceeded his usual Temperament and Moderation. And yet *Stanhurst* never speaks injuriously of our Nation; for though he mistakes many things, and applys them to his own Countrey: Yet it appears to be, rather of Design to magnifie it, than injure ours: for heacknowledgeth ingenuously * *That he doth not clearly see from what time the Name of Scotland commenced.* And though thereafter he Taxeth *Boethius* upon the Subject of *Gathelus* and *Scota*, and that he mixeth Fables and Vain-glory with his History: Yet he neither Disapproves of *Buchanan*, nor follows he *Luddus*, both of whom he cites, and who were immediately before him; his Book being Printed at *Antwerp*, in the year 1584. In his Appendix also, Commenting upon *Giraldus Cambrensis* (a *Welsh man*, and Secretary to King *Henry 2d. of England*, and flourished

* Lib. 1. pag. 17.
Verum à quo primum initio Scotiæ nomen sit tractum nondum planè perspectum video.

flourished before the end of the 12th. Century) He translates *Cambrensis* who describes *Ireland* by the name of *Hibernia*, and makes frequent mention of our Countrey under the name of *Scotia*, as when he speaks of the extent of *Ireland*, he says (as *Stanihurst* interprets it) that * *it is equal in largeness to Wales and Scotland*. And elsewhere he says that † *Scotland is called the North part of the Isle of Britain*. And afterwards he tells the Story of *Morred* six sons, and that from them the Inhabitants of the North part of *Britain*, * *by a specifick word were called the Scottish Nation*. And *Stanihurst* in his Annotations on these two Chapters contends that before *St. Patrick's* time our Countrey was called *Scotia*; and brings for proofs *St. Jerome*, who asserts that the *Scots* were *Gens Britannica*; but with great concern he vindicates us from the calumny of eating Mens Flesh: and for our Antiquity he cites *Beda*, who says, that *Sub duce Reudà* we made a third Nation in *Britain*. So that we see that neither the *Welsh* in *Giraldus's* time, nor the *Irish* in *Stani*

* *Quanta circumscriptis Wallia & Scotia potior insula Britannica pars Regibusque antiquis appropriata.* pag. 222.

† *Scotia quoque pars Insulae Britannicae dicitur Aquilonaris,* pag. 245.

* *Specificato vocabulo gens Scotia appellatur.* cap. 29.

burſt's time had the opinion of our late ſettlement, and that our Countrey was not call'd *Scotia* for 1000. years after Chriſt; which their Succeſſours *Luddus, Camden, Uſher* and *St. Aſaph* have had. And the *Irish* in thoſe days took a far better way for advancing their own intereſt in doing us juſtice; That ſince from all the conſiderable actions we did, there did ariſe a meaſure of that honour to them, from whoſe Countrey we came as a Colony: W here as ſince they were influenc'd by Strangers, they have ſuffer'd themſelves to be impos'd upon, ſo as to leſſen our true merit, in appropriating immediatly to themſelves theſe devout perſons, who were really our Countrey-men: without conſidering that the material unjuſtice was much greater than the imaginary honour: And this *Plagiarism* and *Mauſtealing* became eaſie to them ſince our *Reformation* from *Popery*, becauſe after that time we became too careleſs of theſe eminent perſons both at home and abroad, who had lived in the *Roman* communion, or before that time. But I will not inſiſt on this
for

for I hope their native kindness will incline them to return to their first just methods.

If I had leisure, I would make * Pag. 789. larger Reflexions, to prove how unconsequential *Usher* is, in making *Sedulius* and *Marianus* Irish: since by all Writers they are both call'd *Scots*, and *Baleus* an *English* man tells, that * Pag. 187. cent. 14. *Sedulius* flourish'd under *Fergus* 2d, and † Pag. 210. cent. 14. *Marianus* under *Mcbeth*, both our Kings; and *Earonius* asserts also this positively. And *Sedulius* having liv'd before *St. Patrick's* time, (who was the first *Apostle of Ireland*) and being Disciple to *Hildebert*, an acknowledg'd *Scot*, and who liv'd in the 390, must be prior to the *Irish Christianity*; which *Giraldus* and *Staniburst* acknowledge to have been first planted by *St. Patrick* in the year 432. Nor can * Pag. 789. *Usher* in all his vast reading find any *Christians* in *Ireland* betwixt the year 400, and 432, which was *St. Patrick's* time, but *Kiaranus*, *Ailbeus*, *Declannus*, *Ibarus*; Though if *Sedulius* had been an *Irish*, he had been certainly mention'd and employ'd, before these obscure Persons; and certainly he would have employed himself be-

fore *St. Patrick's* time in the Conversion of his own native Countrey, if he had been truly *Irish*. And as to *Marianus Scotus*, it is a wonder, how it can be controverted that he was a *Scots-man*; since our Countrey was then called *Scotland* by *St. Asaph's* own confession; and *Ireland* was just then losing that name; and *Marianus* in his whole Book distinguishes betwixt *Scoti* and *Hiberni*, and mentions the forementioned three Kings of *Scotland*, about whose time he liv'd; and also makes mention of one King of *Ireland* about that time: as has been observed already, and particularly, speaking of the Conversions * by *Palladius* and *St. Patrick*, he expressly distinguishes betwixt *Scoti* and *Hibernenses*.

* Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus à Papa Cælestino Palladius primus Episcopus missus est. Post ipsum Sanctus Patricius consecratus & ad Archiepiscopum Hiberniensem mitritur, & totam insulam convertit ad fidem, pag. 340.

But passing these, I confess it is pretty ridiculous to see a whole Book written by the above-mentioned *Vardæus*, and glossed by *Sirin*, and published at *Louvain* 1662, to prove that *Rumoldus Arch-Bishop* of *Mechlin* was an *Irish-man*: since the Arms of *Scotland* (which are, Or. a Lyon Rampant Gules, within a double Tressure flowered and counterflowered

terflowered with Flower de lis of the same) are placed upon every Window of the Cathedral Church built by him, and are to this day a part of the Arms of that *Archi-Episcopal See*; *Rumoldus* himself being a *Cadet* of the *Royal Family* of *Scotland*; And in which witty Book, the Authour, to confute this, * is forced to maintain that the *Scotish Lyon* is born by several *Irish Families*; And the *double Tressure*, though anciently born by *Scotland*, and which is *Blazon'd* in that *Archi-Episcopal Coat of Arms*, might have been born by the *Irish*, because that famous League betwixt the *Scots* and *Charlemaigne*, was made with the Kings of *Ireland*, and not with the Kings of *Scotland*; and that our Kings had never any Leagues with the *French*, till the reign of *Charles 7th*, who was Contemporary with our King *James 1st*: Whereas the whole *French Histories* as well as ours; and all Foreign Historians as well as either; the Leagues yet extant; the Privileges granted thereupon to us, recorded in the *French Registers*, and ours; many Decisions in

* *Artic. 14. &*
pag. 281.

in Parliaments and other Courts ; and the universal consent of all the *French* , whoever liv'd since that time, do in all Humility seem to be sufficient warrands for laughing at this monstrous assertion ; as I do at him and others, who pretend that the *Scotish* Monasteries in *Germany* are *Irish* : since they were founded in *Charle-Maigne's* time, by *William*, Brother to our King *Achaius* , and others that went there with him ; and they are to this day govern'd by *Abbats* and *Priors* of our Countrey : Nor can it be understood, how the *French* and *Germans* could mistake their own Records and Foundations for so many hundreds of years together. And by this I leave my Reader to measure the other Follies of such Authours ; loving to reason with such onely, as have the use of it.

I hope it now at last appears, that I have detected those ingenious artifices, which the *Bishop* was forc'd to use, to supply his want of solid and just grounds in this his undertaking. As,

1. That,

1. That, to conciliate respect to this undertaking, as well as to excuse it, he pretends that it was necessary for the defence of *Episcopacy*.

2. He makes a great muster of old Authours in the beginning of his Book, as if all these were men of great credit, and did concur with him to refute our History; and adorns his Margins with formidable numbers of Citations.

3. Knowing, that it could be prov'd both by *British* and Foreign Historians, that we were here very anciently, he confesses this; but by a new and strange invention, he asserts that we were not here as settled Inhabitants, but onely by way of Incurfion.

4. He defers our coming here, till the year 503, and so longer than the first Inventors of this new Story did; upon design to make our Settlement here, later than that of the *Anglo-Saxons* who settl'd here in *anno* 449.

5. He lessens the reputation of all our Historians, and endeavours also to make them pass but for one; as if the succeeding Historian had
seen

seen no other warrands, but the preceding Histories.

6. He treats in ridicule *Jeffrey* and some other Historians of his own Countrêy, who he knew, could not be sustain'd however; and this he does upon design, to shew his impartiality, and that he spares not his own more than ours.

7. For the same reason he decries the *British* descent from *Brutus*; in which he loses nothing, because no sober man could have defended it; and he denies the conversion of their own King *Lucius*, to strike thereby with the greater authority at the Antiquity of our *Royal-Line* and *Nation*, treating King *Donald's* Conversion also as a Fable: and thus according to our Proverb, *He is content to let a friend go with a foe.*

8. He complements our Nation in later times, to excuse the injury he does our Kings and Antiquity.

9. He uses the Foreign Authours that should be urg'd for us, to prevent our using of them as proving Arguments against him.

10. Finding that *Ireland* has been call'd *Scotia*, he transplants our old *Saints* thither, and applies to it, all that is said of our Countrey : nor did ever any Authour improve better a pitifull clinch.

11. He concurs in another design like to this, for, because it could not be deny'd that *Fergus* was our first King ; all the Citations for proving this, are therefore apply'd to *Fergus* the second, and not to *Fergus* the first.

Lastly, Whereas *Cambden* and *Usher* speak doubtingly of their own Arguments ; *St. Asaph* fearing, that his Reader could not be convinc'd, of what himself was not : he therefore proposes all these Arguments with a confidence, which would seem to argue that full Conviction in himself, which he wishes in others.

If any person then would know, how that *Scotland*, which was but a small Colony, grew up to a Kingdom that deserv'd so well : my thoughts of this are, that, 1. The constant defence that we were oblig'd to make against the *Romans* and

and *Britons* at first, and *English* thereafter, Nations wise, brave and polish'd, living in the same Isle with us ; and the *Picts* within us, did force us to think and fight, and the observing the actions and conduct of such Enemies could not leave the observers rude or ignorant : and it is like that the glory of such Noble Adversaries rais'd our Wit and Courage above the pitch of a Northern and confin'd Nation. 2. Our Countrey having had the happiness to stop the *Roman* Conquest, this gave strangers a value for us ; and therefore when any of the gallant *Britons* scorn'd to submit to the slavery and drudgery of a Conquest, they fled unto us from the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans* ; and being passionate lovers of Liberty, they animated us by their assistance and example : this likewise brought in brave Strangers amongst us, as all gallant Spirits did lately run to *Holland* in its first rise : and (as our Historians probably relate) very many of these, return'd with *Fergus* the second from the Wars in *Italy*, whither that generous young Prince went to assist *Alarick* against

against the *Romans*, in a just resentment of the injury done by them to his Predecessors, and with whom he was present at the sacking of *Rome*.

3. We have been very happy in so Heroick and Wise a Race of Kings, whose Bloud being refin'd by a long Royal Descent, hath been thereby purify'd from all meanness, and elevated to that love for glory, which is ordinary in those, who never knew what it was to obey. 4. Our Countrey having entered early into a remarkable League with *France*, in the Reign of *Charle-Maigne*; our Countrey-men got excellent breeding, under so wise and valiant a Prince; and have ever since, by being constantly employed in the *French*, and other Wars, attain'd to a degree of merit, beyond what was to be expected in this Climate. 5. Our Countrey having neither Bogs nor Fogs, our Ground being Rocky and Gravelly, and our Air fann'd by Winds; this preserves us from the dulness and Phlegm of the Northern Climates; and the want of that superfluous plenty, and bewitching pleasure, which softened even *Hannibal*

nibal when he came to *Capua*, preserves us against the Delicacy and Effeminate-ness of Southern Nations. And whereas (Heroick Vertue being still attended by Envy) some in railery pretend, that we were unconquer'd, because we deserv'd not the pains and trouble of a War; I need not seriously answer, what no Historian can urge: For it is ridiculous to think, that the *Romans* would not have rather conquer'd us, than built two strong and expensive Walls against us; which bounded their Fame, as well as their Conquest. And *England* hath taken too much pains to gain us, either by Conquest or Alliance, to have undervalued us. And though when we were divided by the differences betwixt the *Bruce* and *Bailliol* of old, and betwixt the *Royalists* and *Covenanters* of late; the half of our Countrey having onely defended its Liberties, whilst the other half joyn'd with its Enemies; we were rather over-run, than overcome: And yet we soon recovered our former liberty. Albeit, to be overcome by *England* had been
no

no great affront to us: *England* being a greater and richer Nation than we are. And therefore I hope, all honest men will with Judicious *Samuel Daniel* in his History at the year 1296. confess, that it had been a pity, we had not had a better Country, to be the Theatre of so many worthy and Heroick actions.

Having thus clear'd, how our Nation arriv'd at its present consistence, I am to finish this Discourse, with a representation of the many rights, which our Kings have to the *Imperial Throne* of those Kingdoms; and to shew how they succeed to all who ever pretended to Monarchy in any of them.

As to the *British* part of the Isle, *Aurelius Ambrosius* was, by common consent, chosen sole Prince of all the *Britons*: and he had no other succession, save two Daughters, *Anna* married to the *King* of the *Picts*, and *Ada* married to the *King* of the *Scots*. *Mordredus* King of the *Picts*, Grand-child to the foresaid *Aurelius*, finding himself debarr'd from the Succession of the *British* Crown, employ'd the *Scots*, who
O fought

fought for him against the *Britons*. But the *Britons* having called in the *Saxons*, after a bloody Battel, both Parties were forced to withdraw ; and the King of the *Picts* was induc'd to desist from his pretensions at that time. But thereafter *Hungus* King of the *Picts*, and the direct Heir of the same *Mordredus*, and consequently of *Ambrosius* King of the *Britons*, gave his Sister *Fergusiana* to *Achaius* King of the *Scots* ; and in her Right *Alpin* King of *Scotland* succeeded both to the *British* and *Pictish* Crowns ; *Hungus* having died without any Children, *Kenneth* 2d, Son to *Alpin* was forc'd to conquer the *Picts*, who refus'd unjustly to receive him as their lawfull King.

Our Kings are likewise Lineal Heirs of the *Danish*-Race, who were Kings of *England* for 27, or as others say 29 years ; they being the onely Lineal Successors of *Canutus* King of the *Danes* in *Britain* : for *Margaret* Wife to King *Malcolm* 3d, was Sister to *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was Grandchild to *St. Edward*, who was Brother to *Hardiknut* Son to *Canutus*.

After

. After this the Kingdom of *England* return'd to the old Stock in King *Edward's* time, to whom succeeded *Edgar*, whose Sister the pious Queen *Margaret* married King *Malcolm* the 3d of *Scotland*, by whom he came to have right to the Crown of *England*; there being none extant of the old *Royal-Saxon-Line*, besides her self: And with her came very many of the Nobility, who fled from *William the Conquerour*, after he conquer'd *England*, and with whom King *Malcolm* would not make Peace, till such of them as resolv'd to return were restored to their Estates.

The next *Royal Race* which flourished in *England*, was the *Norman*: and to that Race our Kings succeeded thus. The Line of *William the Conquerour* was branch'd out in the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*. To the House of *Lancaster*, they succeed as Heirs by the Marriage betwixt *Joan*, Daughter to the Duke of *Somerset*, and undoubted Successour of the Family of *Lancaster*. And to both *Lancaster* and *York* they succeed by being Heirs to *Henry* the 7th, in whom these Successions were again happily

ly reconcil'd ; he having married *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to *Edward* the 4th, who had transferred the Succession of the *Crown* from the House of *Lancaster*, to that of *York*, or at least had united the two in one. For clearing whereof, it is fit to know, that *Henry* the 7th had onely four Children, *Arthur*, *Henry*, *Margaret* and *Mary*. *Arthur* and *Henry* dying without Succession, the Right of the *Crown* was certainly devolv'd over upon the Children of *Margaret* the Daughter ; who did bear King *James* the 5th, in a first Marriage with King *James* the 4th ; and *Margaret Douglas*, by a second Marriage with the Earl of *Angus* : which *Margaret* being married to *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, had two Sons ; the eldest whereof, was *Henry*, who thereafter married Queen *Mary*, Daughter to King *James* the 5th ; and begot upon her King *James* the 6th : and thus King *James* the 6th was upon all sides Heir to *William the Conquerour*, and to *Henry* the 7th.

The Histories also of both Nations confess, that our King is the undoubted Successour of the *Bloud-Royal*

Royal of Wales: for *Walter Stuart*, from whom our Kings are descended, was Grand-child to the King of *Wales*, by his Daughter, * who married *Fleauclus* Son to † *Banquo*: and *Henry* the 7th (to whom King *James* the 6th was the true Successour) was also the righteous Heir of *Cadwalloder* the last Prince of *Wales*.

* Lefly. in vim

Dav. 2.

† Baker, pag. 159.

Edit. 1643.

The Histories both of *Scotland* and *Ireland* do acknowledge, that our Kings are undoubtedly descended from the Royal-Race of the Kings of *Ireland*; and all the debate that can be, is onely whether they be descended from King *Ferquhard*, Father to King *Fergus* the first, or from *Eric*, Father to King *Fergus* the second; or from some other *Irish* Kings, as *Usher* pretends.

From all which, I may draw two Conclusions; First, that God has, from an extraordinary kindness to those Kingdoms, lodged in the person of our present Sovereign King *James* the 7th (whom *GOD Almighty* long preserve) all those opposite and different rights, by which our peace might have been formerly disturb'd. 2. That His Majesty who
now

(190)

now Reigns, has deriv'd from His Royal Ancestours, a just and legal Right by Law, to all those Crowns, without needing to found upon the Right of Conquest : so that the very endeavour, to exclude him from all those Legal Rights, by Arbitrary insolence, under a Mask of Law, was the height of injustice, as well as imprudence.

F I N I S.
